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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY  
AMONG THE  
HEATHEN.



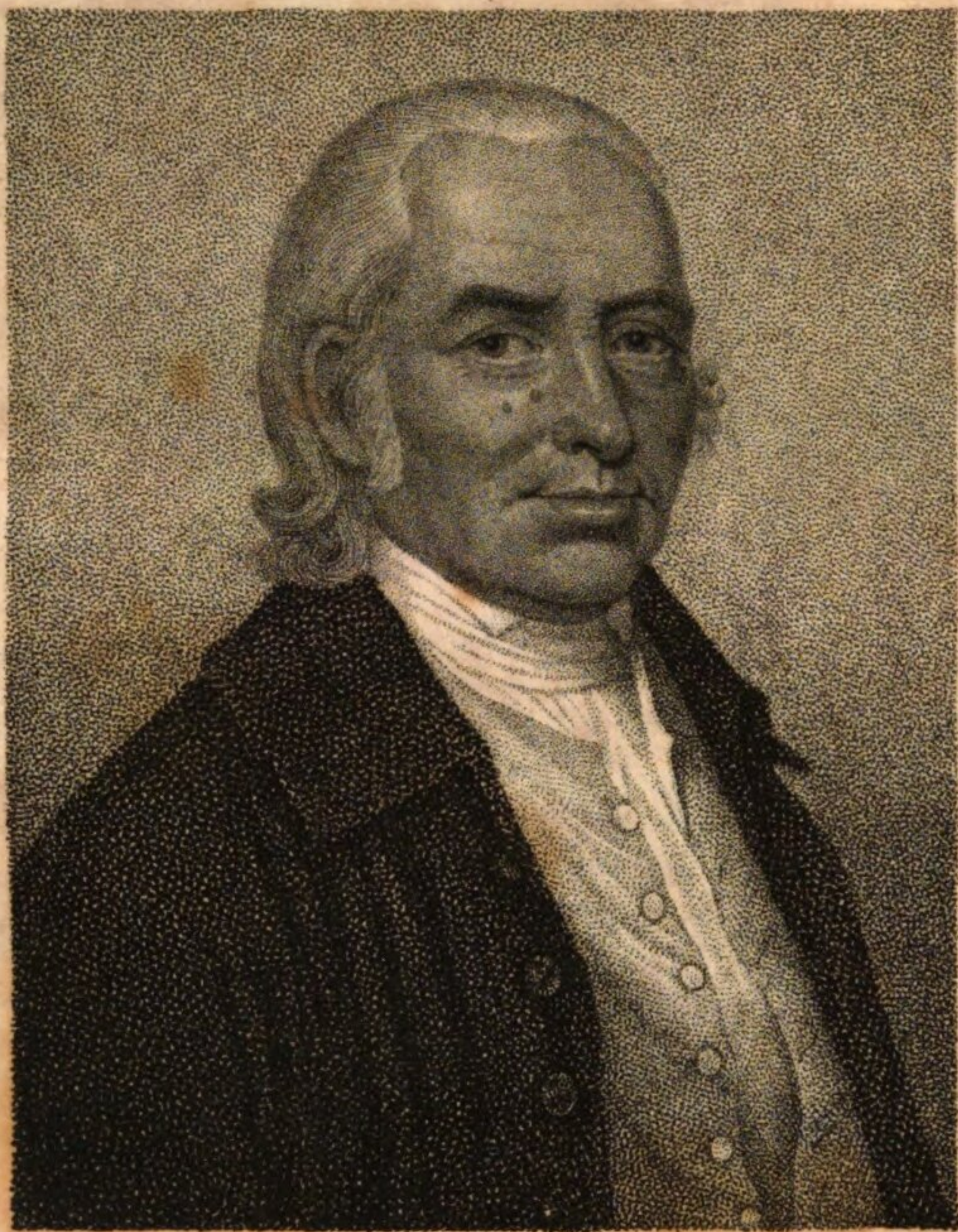
THE  
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Eng<sup>d</sup> by R. Scott Edin<sup>r</sup>

THE REV<sup>d</sup> CHRISTIAN FREDERICK SWARTZ.

*Late Missionary at Trichinopoly &c.*

Pub<sup>d</sup> by Khull, Blackie & C<sup>o</sup> Glasgow, & Fullarton & C<sup>o</sup> Edinburgh.



THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE PROPAGATION OF  
CHRISTIANITY  
AMONG  
THE HEATHEN  
SINCE  
*The Reformation.*

BY  
THE REV. WILLIAM BROWN, M. D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

SECOND EDITION,  
*ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS, AND GREATLY IMPROVED.*

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EDINBURGH:

PUBLISHED BY A. FULLARTON & CO.  
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W. B. WHITTAKER, LONDON;  
AND R. M. TIMS, DUBLIN.

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1823.



HISTORY

OF THE PROPAGATION OF

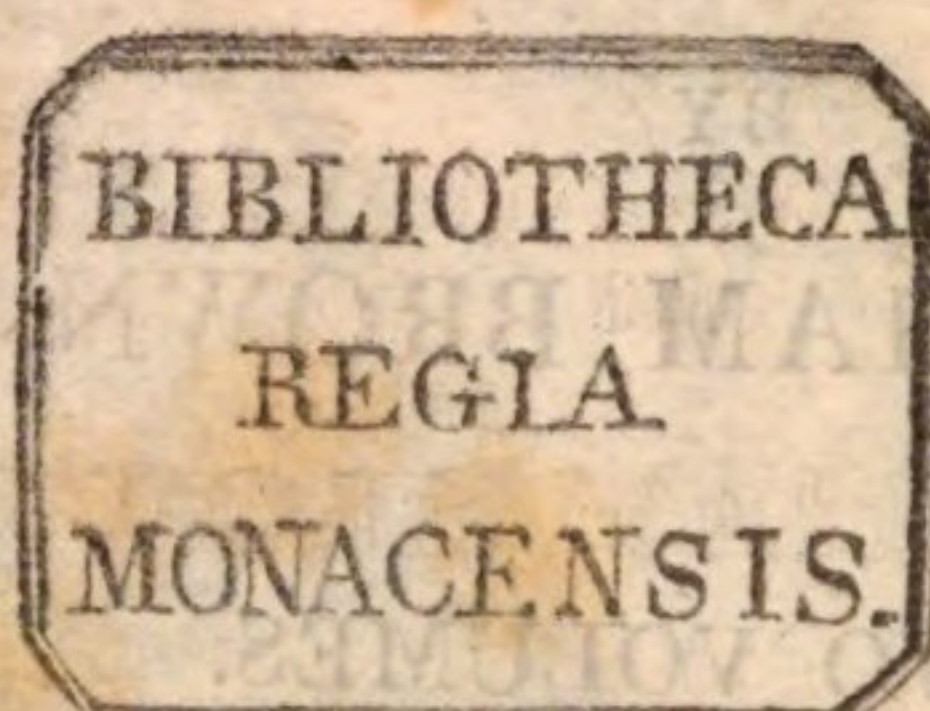
CHRISTIANITY

AMONG

THE HEATHEN

SINCE

THE REFORMATION



VOL. I.

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ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND CUTS BY J. G. COOPER

REVIEWED BY THE REV. J. G. COOPER

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AND R. M. TINE, DUBLIN.

1828



**PREFACE**

**TO THE**

**DIRECTORS**

**OF THE**

**Scottish Missionary Society,**

**THIS HISTORY**

**OF THE**

**PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY**

**AMONG THE HEATHEN,**

**IS MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,**

**BY THEIR MOST OBEDIENT AND DEVOTED SERVANT,**

**WILLIAM BROWN.**



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## PREFACE.

THE propagation of Christianity in the world, is the most important subject which can engage the attention of a historian. The rise, the progress, and the downfall of empires; the discovery of unknown countries; the lives of philosophers, of senators, of princes; the improvements of the arts and sciences, may furnish useful and interesting materials for history; but nothing is so momentous as the diffusion of the gospel in the world, which at once brings “glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and good will towards man.” The transcendent importance of this subject is stamped by no less than Divine authority. In the New Testament, we have only two branches of history; the Gospels, containing the life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and the Acts of the Apostles, exhibiting a view of the propagation of Christianity in the world.

Some, perhaps, will think the following work should have commenced with the Christian æra; but as, from the period of the Apostolic age, until the Reformation, the ma-



terials for such a history are in general extremely scanty and uninteresting, and as the principal facts have already been detailed nearly at full length, by our ordinary ecclesiastical historians, the Author considered it as unnecessary for him to repeat what had so often been written by others.

It is not improbable, others will think he should have given an account of the Roman Catholic, as well as of the Protestant missions; but if it be considered, that Popery is ANTI-CHRISTIAN in its nature, it will appear obvious, that the extension of such a system, had little or no claim to be introduced in a work, the object of which was to exhibit a view of the propagation of CHRISTIANITY since the Reformation. Besides, the Roman Catholic missions have been so numerous, so extensive, and of such long standing, that, had the Author included them in his plan, the work would have extended to so many Volumes, that it would probably have found few readers, and its usefulness would of course have been materially circumscribed. Independently, however, of these circumstances, the utter impossibility of distinguishing truth from falsehood, in the narrations of many of the missionaries, was to him an insurmountable objection to undertake writing an account of Catholic missions, as he conceives, history is



worse than useless, when not founded in the most rigid adherence to simple matter of fact.\*

\* This charge has not only been alleged by Protestant writers, but is supported by Catholic authorities of so high an order, that even the most zealous and bigoted members of the Church of Rome can scarcely question the fact. "It seems," says M. Cerri, Secretary to the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, in a Report which he gave of the state of the Roman Catholic Religion to Pope Innocent XI. about the year 1678, "It seems to be the *constant* opinion of ALL the members of the Congregation, that *little credit* is to be given to the Relations, Letters, and Solicitations that come from the missionaries. Hence it is, that the usual answer of the Congregation consists only in asking further information, which often proves of no use. I add, that the nuncios and other persons receiving these informations from the parties concerned, are not able to give a better account of things, than what the Congregation had before. These inconveniences have often moved that Society to send visitors into the missions, who being disinterested and impartial men, have given a true relation of the state of those missions, by which means several disorders have been effectually removed. Give me leave, Most Holy Father, to represent to your Holiness, that this remedy is now more necessary than ever in many Provinces and Kingdoms." *Account of the state of the Roman Catholic Religion throughout the World, written for the use of Pope Innocent XI., by M. Cerri, Secretary of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide*, London. 1715, p. 182.

Though we have no idea that Protestant missionaries generally are at all liable to any such charge, yet we cannot but express our anxiety that *some* of the agents of Bible and Missionary Societies would exercise more caution and discrimination in the statements which they give to the world. If any of them from a wish to please their respective societies, or to exalt themselves; from the warmth of their feelings, the fervour of their imagination, or a desire to make an interesting story, shall indulge in coloured and exaggerated representations of their labours and success, they may bring the fidelity of Protestant missionaries under as general suspicion, as that under which the accounts of Catholic missionaries have so long and so deservedly laboured.



During the interval which has elapsed between the publication of the first and the present edition, the Author has spared no pains in improving the work. Most of the books relative to missions published in Germany, the want of which he formerly regretted, he has since procured, as well as many others printed in England and America. He believes, indeed, that there are few publications of any importance on the subject of Protestant Missions which have escaped his notice. In consequence of the large mass of new materials which he has obtained, some parts of the work have been almost entirely written over again; in other parts, the omissions on the one hand, and the additions on the other, have been very extensive. He cannot but regret the extent of these alterations, on account of the purchasers of the former impression; but he would have considered it as quite unpardonable to have published a new edition, without those improvements which it was in his power to make.

Missionary Societies, and especially individual missionaries will probably be surprised to find in the following work so general and brief an account of their operations. Many a hazardous voyage, many a toilsome journey, many a painful illness, many a mournful death, and a thousand other circumstances



which in the minds of those more immediately concerned, excited the deepest interest, they will here find passed in silence: even the names of many valuable missionaries they will seek in vain in the following work. Sensible as the Author is of its imperfections, he is apprehensive that some, in consequence of this, may consider it as much more imperfect than it actually is. He believes, indeed, he has more frequently erred in being too minute than too general. There are so many things common to all missions, that in a History of the Propagation of Christianity, it is necessary to omit innumerable circumstances, which it would be natural to introduce in the life of the individual missionaries, the narrative of a single mission, or even the account of a particular Society. In a general History of Missions, it must be the object of the writer to avoid as much as possible circumstances which are common to all, and to seize on those which are characteristic of each.

In the following work, the Author has given some statements, and made some observations which may not improbably give offence to the particular friends of those Societies or individuals to whom they refer. He thinks, however, he can say with confidence, that in giving these statements, he has been actuated not by a love of detraction, but by a love of truth. He is



afraid that the friends of Bible and Missionary Societies, often draw far too flattering pictures of their triumphant progress, of their past success, and of their future prospects; that they either forget, or are unacquainted with the many shades and spots which cloud and mar the beauty of the scene; and that by this means, they produce fallacious impressions on the public mind, and excite hopes which can terminate only in disappointment. The Author is sensible that by such a system important purposes are served: but he is no less convinced, that by an impartial statement of facts, whether they are favourable or unfavourable, inexpressibly greater advantages would be gained. The common observation, that honesty is the best policy, is applicable to truth in general. It may be attended with temporary inconveniences, but on the whole, the advantages will far more than counterbalance the disadvantages. Bible and Missionary Societies might by such a system be rendered less popular; but probably they would be more useful. Fewer individuals might offer themselves as missionaries, but those who came forward would, it is likely, be more select. Less money might be raised, but less also would be spent by the employment of unsuitable agents. Besides, were more correct pictures drawn of the nature of the Missionary work;



were its difficulties and discouragements, its trials and disappointments exhibited with due prominence, instead of being thrown into the shade; were the unfitness and the errors, and the faults of some missionaries faithfully portrayed, (so far as is consistent with prudence and tenderness to the individuals,) instead of being entirely concealed from the view, a deep feeling, we trust, would be excited throughout the Christian world, of the insufficiency of all human exertions, and of the necessity of an humble dependance on divine influence; the spirit of prayer would be awakened in another manner than at present, in behalf of missionaries; that men might be raised up, endowed with all those gifts and graces which so arduous an undertaking requires; that they might be preserved in the hour of temptation; that they might not only preach the gospel with their tongues, but in their conduct exhibit a living picture of Christian principle and Christian practice; that they might be zealous, and active, and faithful in their work, and that they might behold the fruit of their labours, in the conversion of multitudes to the Saviour. Christians in general, know but little of the difficulties, the trials, and the temptations to which missionaries are exposed; and hence, it cannot be expected that they should bear them in any suitable manner



on their hearts before God in prayer. There is in fact an unhallowed confidence in that magnificent apparatus of means, which is at present in operation, as if it *must* produce a mighty change in the state of the world; a confidence which, there is reason to fear, may prove an occasion of the influences of the Holy Spirit being withheld from our exertions, until we are humbled to the dust before God, and brought to renounce every thing like self-sufficiency and self-dependance, and to trust with simplicity of heart to the divine blessing, as that without which all human endeavours will be utterly fruitless. If any thing further were necessary to vindicate the course which the Author has in some instances pursued, he would appeal to the example of the sacred Historians. They tell the simple truth: they give us an unvarnished story; they write without exaggeration, and without concealment. If one of the disciples of Christ betrays him into the hands of his enemies, they tell it. If another denies him, and that with imprecations and oaths, they tell it. If the rest forsake him and fly for their safety, they tell it. If even men of the highest rank in the church, as Paul and Barnabas, quarrel with one another, the fact is related with all the simplicity of truth: "The contention was so sharp between them,



that they departed asunder one from another." If Peter is chargeable with bigotry and pusillanimity, and dissimulation, another Apostle candidly informs us, that he "withstood him to the face because he was to be blamed." From these simple statements of truth, the sacred writers apprehended no injury to the great cause in which they were engaged, the propagation of Christianity in the world; and the result has demonstrated the wisdom of the principles on which they acted, for the honesty of their representations has not only furnished most instructive lessons to the Church in all ages, but constituted an irrefragable proof of the truth of the Gospel History itself.

Before he concludes, the Author begs leave to express his deep obligations to various Institutions, for the kindness and liberality with which they aided his inquiries, particularly to THE SOCIETY IN SCOTLAND FOR PROPAGATING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, for granting him access to their records relative to their missions in America; to THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, for the use of the German accounts of the Danish Mission on the coast of Coromandel, and of a Volume of scarce Tracts, relative to the Missions in America, in the seventeenth century; and for a number of American Publications of the present day; to THE



METHODIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY, for various publications with respect to their missions; to THE SCOTTISH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, for the use of papers relative to their mission in Africa;\* and to THE BAPTIST BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS IN AMERICA, for a copy of their official publications. To several of his Friends, he is also in various forms under great obligations, but he will not offend their private feelings, by a public acknowledgment of their favours.

\* This was previous to the Author's present connexion with the Scottish Missionary Society.

EDINBURGH,  
November 1st, 1823.



# CONTENTS

OF

## VOLUME FIRST.

### CHAPTER FIRST.

#### PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE SWISS.

|                | Page. |
|----------------|-------|
| Brazil, ... .. | 1     |

### CHAPTER SECOND.

#### PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE SWEDES.

|                 |    |
|-----------------|----|
| Lapland, ... .. | 10 |
|-----------------|----|

### CHAPTER THIRD.

#### PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE DUTCH.

|                           |    |
|---------------------------|----|
| SECTION I. Ceylon, ... .. | 14 |
| II. Java, ... ..          | 24 |
| III. Formosa, ... ..      | 26 |
| IV. Amboyna, ... ..       | 30 |

### CHAPTER FOURTH.

#### PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE ANGLO-AMERICANS.

|                                          |     |
|------------------------------------------|-----|
| SECTION I. Massachusetts' Colony, ... .. | 34  |
| II. Martha's Vineyard, ... ..            | 50  |
| III. New Plymouth Colony, ... ..         | 62  |
| IV. New Stockbridge, ... ..              | 67  |
| V. New Jersey, ... ..                    | 87  |
| VI. Oneida, ... ..                       | 139 |

### CHAPTER FIFTH.

#### PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE DANES.

|                                |     |
|--------------------------------|-----|
| SECTION I. East Indies, ... .. | 158 |
| II. Greenland, ... ..          | 233 |



## CHAPTER SIXTH.

## PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE UNITED BRETHREN.

|                                    | Page. |
|------------------------------------|-------|
| SECTION I. Greenland, ... ..       | 273   |
| II. West Indies, ... ..            | 347   |
| ARTICLE I. St. Thomas, ... ..      | ib.   |
| II. St. Croix, ... ..              | 368   |
| III. St. Jan, ... ..               | 372   |
| IV. Jamaica, ... ..                | 375   |
| V. Antigua, ... ..                 | 379   |
| VI. Barbadoes, ... ..              | 383   |
| VII. St. Christopher's, ... ..     | 388   |
| VIII. Tobago, ... ..               | 390   |
| SECTION III. North America, ... .. | 392   |
| IV. South America, ... ..          | 521   |
| ARTICLE I. Berbice, ... ..         | ib.   |
| II. Surinam, ... ..                | 526   |
| PART I. Sharon, ... ..             | ib.   |
| II. Hope, ... ..                   | 531   |
| III. Bambey, ... ..                | 540   |
| IV. Paramaribo, ... ..             | 546   |
| SECTION V. Tartary, ... ..         | 549   |
| VI. Persia, ... ..                 | 559   |
| VII. Egypt, ... ..                 | 566   |
| VIII. Labrador, ... ..             | 590   |
| IX. Nicobar Islands, ... ..        | 613   |

## APPENDIX.

## No. I.

LIST OF TRANSLATIONS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES INTO  
THE LANGUAGES OF PAGAN AND MAHOMMEDAN  
NATIONS,

|                            |     |
|----------------------------|-----|
| ...                        | 641 |
| Afghan, or Pushtoo, ... .. | 643 |
| American Indian, ... ..    | 644 |
| Arabic, ... ..             | 646 |
| Arawack, ... ..            | 651 |
| Assamese, ... ..           | ib. |



|                     | Page. |
|---------------------|-------|
| Bengalee, ... ..    | 651   |
| Bhugelkhund, ... .. | 652   |
| Bhutnere, ... ..    | ib.   |
| Bikaneer, ... ..    | ib.   |
| Brazilian, ... ..   | ib.   |
| Bruj Bhasa, ... ..  | ib.   |
| Bugis, ... ..       | 653   |
| Bullom, ... ..      | ib.   |
| Bulochee, ... ..    | ib.   |
| Burman, ... ..      | ib.   |
| Calmuck, ... ..     | 654   |
| Cashmire, ... ..    | 655   |
| Chinese, ... ..     | ib.   |
| Cingalese, ... ..   | 657   |
| Creole, ... ..      | 658   |
| Dogura, ... ..      | ib.   |
| Esquimaux, ... ..   | ib.   |
| Formosan, ... ..    | ib.   |
| Goandee, ... ..     | ib.   |
| Greenland, ... ..   | 659   |
| Gudwal, ... ..      | ib.   |
| Guzerattee, ... ..  | 660   |
| Hindostanee, ... .. | ib.   |
| Hunaj, ... ..       | 662   |
| Huriana, ... ..     | ib.   |
| Hurotee, ... ..     | ib.   |
| Javanese, ... ..    | ib.   |
| Jumboo, ... ..      | ib.   |
| Juypore, ... ..     | ib.   |
| Kanoje, ... ..      | ib.   |
| Khassee, ... ..     | ib.   |
| Khosul, ... ..      | 663   |
| Kumaoon, ... ..     | ib.   |
| Kunkuna, ... ..     | ib.   |
| Kurnata, ... ..     | ib.   |
| Lapponese, ... ..   | 664   |
| Macassar, ... ..    | ib.   |
| Mahratta, ... ..    | ib.   |
| Malay, ... ..       | ib.   |
| Maldivian, ... ..   | 667   |



| Page. |                              | Page. |
|-------|------------------------------|-------|
| 667   | Mandjur Chinese, ... ..      | 667   |
| ib.   | Marwar, ... ..               | ib.   |
| ib.   | Mexican, ... ..              | ib.   |
| ib.   | Mixtecan, ... ..             | ib.   |
| ib.   | Mongolian, ... ..            | 866   |
| ib.   | Mooltanee, or Wuch, ... ..   | ib.   |
| 668   | Mordwashian, ... ..          | ib.   |
| ib.   | Mugud, ... ..                | ib.   |
| ib.   | Munipoora, ... ..            | ib.   |
| ib.   | Nepalese, ... ..             | ib.   |
| 669   | Ooduy pore, ... ..           | 669   |
| 669   | Oojein, or Malwa, ... ..     | ib.   |
| ib.   | Ossatinian, ... ..           | ib.   |
| 669   | Orissa, ... ..               | ib.   |
| 669   | Ostiak, ... ..               | ib.   |
| ib.   | Otaheitan, ... ..            | ib.   |
| ib.   | Pali, or Magudha, ... ..     | ib.   |
| ib.   | Persic, ... ..               | 670   |
| ib.   | Portuguese, ... ..           | 675   |
| 669   | Sarameca, ... ..             | 676   |
| ib.   | Shreenagore, ... ..          | ib.   |
| 669   | Siamese, ... ..              | 677   |
| ib.   | Sikh, or Punjabee, ... ..    | ib.   |
| 669   | Sindhee, or Dukslinu, ... .. | ib.   |
| ib.   | Sungskrit, ... ..            | ib.   |
| ib.   | Susoo, ... ..                | ib.   |
| ib.   | Tamul, ... ..                | ib.   |
| ib.   | Telinga, ... ..              | 678   |
| ib.   | Tschapogirian, ... ..        | 679   |
| ib.   | Tschermishian, ... ..        | 680   |
| ib.   | Tschuwashian, ... ..         | ib.   |
| 669   | Tungusian, ... ..            | ib.   |
| ib.   | Turkish and Tartar, ... ..   | ib.   |

## No. II.

# HINTS RELATIVE TO THE FORMATION OF AN ALPHABET FOR LANGUAGES HITHERTO UNWRITTEN,

684







W. A. M.  
in  
1800



W. A. M.  
in  
1800













VOL. I.

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64

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N A D A

St. Lawrence

Printed by J. Macmillan & Co. Ltd. Edinburgh.



# HISTORY

OF THE

## PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY

AMONG THE

## HEATHEN.

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### CHAPTER FIRST.

#### PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE SWISS.

#### BRAZIL.

At the reformation, the light of the gospel burst forth on the nations of Europe, like the sun in the morning after a dark night. By degrees, it spread from country to country, and dispelled the shades of ignorance and error, in which they had been enveloped for a series of ages. Fired with a sacred zeal for the cause of religion, the reformers followed superstition to her most secret haunts, brought her forth to the view of the world, and exposed her in all her native deformity. In the prosecution of this object, they were appalled, neither by difficulties nor dangers: they triumphed while stretched on the rack; they sung in the midst of the fire. By the vigorous efforts which they made, the authority of the Pope was shaken to its centre; his throne was seen to totter; and ever since that period, his



influence has been diminished, even in those countries which continued to acknowledge his spiritual sway.

Engaged in propagating the light of the gospel through the benighted kingdoms of Christendom, the reformers could scarcely be expected to direct their attention to the heathen world. But notwithstanding the magnitude of their other exertions, this object was not entirely overlooked by them.

In September 1556, Philip de Corguilleray, Peter Richer, William Chartier, Peter Bourdon, Matthew Verneuil, John du Bordel, Andrew de la Fond, Nicholas Denis, John Gardien, Martin David, Nicolas Raviquet, James Rousseau, Nicolas Carmieau, and John de Lery, took their departure from Geneva with the view of proceeding to Brazil on the coast of South America. A colony had been sent to that country the preceding year, by Henry the Second, King of France, under the command of Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon, a man of distinguished talents and high in the French naval service. The Admiral de Coligni had promoted this measure with all his influence at Court, in the hope of providing in a distant country, an asylum for his Protestant brethren, who were at that time persecuted and proscribed in their native land. Villegagnon, himself, had embraced the Reformed religion, and was eager to co-operate with the Admiral, in accomplishing so desirable an object. On his arrival at the Rio de Janeiro, he wrote to Coligni, requesting further re-enforcements, particularly some good divines from Geneva, to plant the Christian faith in the New World. He addressed



a letter to the same effect to Calvin, the celebrated Genevan reformer; and in consequence of the prospects he held forth, the individuals now mentioned, resolved to proceed to America in the hope of establishing the doctrines of the reformation, on that extensive Continent, and of introducing them among the savage inhabitants. On their way through France, they were joined by a considerable number of other persons, who, in consequence of the influence of Coligni, and the uneasy situation of the Protestants in that country, determined to accompany them, and establish themselves in the new colony. The whole company embarked from Harfleur in three ships, furnished by the crown; and on arriving at the Rio de Janeiro, they were received by Villegagnon with the greatest demonstrations of joy. Scarcely, however, had they landed, when they began to experience the difficulties and hardships which commonly attend a new settlement, in a distant and uncultivated country. Before they had recovered the fatigues of their voyage, they had to engage in severe manual labour, in order to complete the fort, which the first settlers had begun, and they had at the same time, to live on the hardest fare, their only food consisting of a little meal, which they had either to eat dry, or to boil in dirty water.<sup>a</sup>

During their residence in Brazil, the Geneva divines, appear to have had, at least, some intercourse with the natives; but as they were ignorant of their language, their means of communication with them,

<sup>a</sup> *Histoire Generale des Voyages*, tom. xiv. p. 185; *Thuani Historia*, tom. i. p. 500; *Southey's History of Brazil*, vol. i. p. 270, 273.



were necessarily very imperfect. They endeavoured, however, to give them some ideas concerning the principles of natural and revealed religion; but though the savages expressed great astonishment at what they heard, it does not appear that any of them, manifested the slightest disposition to embrace the Christian faith. Some of them, indeed, promised to become worshippers of the true God; but there is no reason to suppose, that their understandings were enlightened, or their hearts impressed by the gospel. <sup>b</sup>

In the meanwhile, Villegagnon, won over, it is supposed, by the Cardinal of Lorraine, began to express doubts concerning some articles of the Reformed Church, particularly with respect to the nature of the sacraments, and the manner of their administration. From the protector he became the persecutor of the Protestants; they were obliged to hold their assemblies for divine worship without him, and even, like their brethren in France, to celebrate the Lord's Supper during the night. Incensed at these proceedings, he declared he would not suffer a Protestant within the fort; and accordingly obliged them to leave that very place, which they had assisted in building for their mutual protection, and to retire to the open country. But as others of the people, provoked by his tyranny, deserted to them, he resolved from dread of further revolt, to hasten their departure out of the country. With this view he gave permission to the captain of a vessel, which was lying in the river, to carry them back to France; but with a baseness rarely paralleled,

<sup>b</sup> Lerii *Historia Navigationis in Brasiliam*, p. 221, 230.



he delivered to the master a small coffer, containing, among other articles, a formal process against them, with orders to the first judges in France to whom it should be presented, to seize them as heretics, and commit them to the flames. <sup>c</sup>

In January 1558, they embarked from Brazil, after a residence in that country of only about ten months; but scarcely had they sailed, when they began to experience new disasters. After being tossed about for seven days, the vessel was discovered to have sprung a leak, and appeared to be sinking so rapidly, that there seemed nothing before them but a watery grave. Happily the sailors succeeded for the present in stopping the principal leaks; but the carpenter stated, she was so old, and worm-eaten, that she was quite unfit for so distant a voyage. The master, however, afraid, that should he again land, he might be abandoned by his crew, declared his resolution to prosecute the voyage; but offered to grant a boat to any who might wish to return to America, from which they were as yet only nine or ten leagues distant. It was at the same time stated that as the voyage was likely to prove much longer than ordinary, there were not provisions on board for the whole of the passengers and crew. On learning these circumstances, several of them, among whom were, Peter Bourdon, John du Bordel, Matthew Verneuil, and Andrew de la Fond, returned to Brazil; but after escaping the dangers of shipwreck, the three first were, by the orders of Villegagnon, thrown into the sea and drowned.

<sup>c</sup> Thuani Historia, tom. i. p. 501; Histoire Generale des Voyages, tom. xiv. p. 192, 196.



In the meanwhile the vessel proceeded on her voyage to France; but for weeks together she was driven about by incessant storms, and she was at the same time so leaky, that had she not been cleared of water a hundred times a day, she must inevitably have been swallowed up by the waves. Night and day the crew were employed at the pump; yet with all their exertions, they scarcely saved her from sinking. One day as the carpenter was mending a place which needed repair, a plank suddenly gave way; the sea in a moment gushed into the ship, with the impetuosity of a torrent; the sailors rushed upon deck exclaiming in terrible consternation, "We are lost; we are lost." Meanwhile the carpenter, who maintained more presence of mind, thrust his coat into the hole, and treading on it with all his might, resisted the force of the torrent; then crying to the sailors as loud as he was able, to bring him other articles, he succeeded in stemming the water, until he prepared a board to fill up the gap. On another occasion, some powder which was drying took fire; the flame ran from one extremity of the ship to the other, and communicated to the sails and the cordage. Four men were burnt, one of whom died a few days after. Had the ship taken fire, the whole of the passengers and crew, must either have been burnt alive, or drowned in the midst of the ocean.

Meanwhile the apprehensions of famine, which had been entertained soon after their embarkation, began to be realized. Even at an early period of the voyage, it was agreed that part of the monkeys and parrots which they carried home with them as curiosities should be killed and eaten, in order to



spare their provisions. Worms and excrements of rats were at length found in greater abundance in the storeroom, than particles of food; yet they collected the sweepings together, and made them into a kind of pottage, which, though black and bitter as soot, they were glad to use. Such as possessed bucklers of the skin of the *Tapiroussou*, an animal peculiar to South America, cut them to pieces and devoured them. Others ate the coverings of their trunks, the leather of their shoes, and even the horn of the ship lanterns. They hunted the very rats and mice, which, as they had now nothing to eat, ran up and down the vessel in great numbers dying of hunger, and being so enfeebled, became an easy prey to their pursuers. Such was the value set on these little animals, that a single rat, sold for three and four crowns. Could the famished crew have obtained grass or hay, Lery supposes, they would have eaten them, like the brute creation. Nothing now remained to them, except Brazil wood, which is represented as the driest of all woods. They were, however, so pressed with hunger, that to satisfy the cravings of nature, they endeavoured to chew it with their teeth. One day Philip Corguilleray, on putting a piece of it in his mouth, said to Lery with a sigh: "Alas! my friend, I have 4000 livres due me in France; yet I would gladly give a discharge for the whole, for a glass of wine and a pennyworth of bread." Peter Richer, one of the ministers, lay extended in his little cabin, so deprived of strength, that he was scarcely able to raise his head in prayer to God, though while thus prostrate, he was almost constantly engaged in that sacred exercise.



Meanwhile five or six of the crew died of absolute starvation, and from the disposition of the survivors, as well as the necessity of their circumstances, it seems truly wonderful, that they did not devour the bodies of their unfortunate companions. They had now, as often happens in cases of famine, acquired such a degree of ferocity, and such an irritability of temper, that they could scarcely speak to each other but in passion, and without a particular cast of the eye, as if they were ready to eat one another.

After a voyage of near five months, they at length discovered the coast of Bretagne; but as they had already been often deceived by the pilot, they scarcely believed the person who first announced the joyful tidings. Nothing could be more seasonable than this discovery, for the master of the vessel declared, that had they remained another day, in the same wretched condition, he had resolved to kill one of the ship's company, not by lot, as has sometimes been done by persons in similar circumstances, but by stealth, in order to provide food for himself and his fellow-sufferers. Having steered for the shore, they landed at the port of Blavet near Henbonne, where the relation of their sufferings, excited as might be expected, the tender sympathy of the inhabitants. They were warned not to indulge freely in food at first; but to repair by degrees their wasted strength. This salutary caution many of the sailors neglected; but they paid dearly for their folly, for of twenty who arrived in port, more than one half died in a short time. Others were affected with various complaints, as swellings over the whole body, weakness of sto-



mach, diarrhœa, partial deafness and blindness ; but by the use of suitable remedies, they gradually recovered. As to the process against the Geneva divines, it so happened that the judges to whom it was delivered, were not unfavourable to the Protestants, and instead of executing the treacherous designs of Villegagnon, they treated with kindness, the unfortunate victims of his malignity. <sup>d</sup>

Such was the termination of the first attempt of the Protestants, to plant the Christian faith in the New World. The primary design of the undertaking appears, indeed, to have been the securing an asylum to the reformed, from persecution in Europe : the conversion of the natives was only a secondary object. The colony itself was of short duration. The Portuguese who had previously settled in Brazil, and who at first, had allowed the French to remain unmolested, soon afterwards attacked them, and expelled them from the country. <sup>e</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Lerii Historia, p. 267, 275 ; Histoire Generale de Voyages, tom. xiv. p. 196 ; Laval's History of the Reformation in France, vol. 1. p. 106.

<sup>e</sup> Southey's History, vol. 1. p. 278.



**CHAPTER SECOND.****PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE SWEDES.****LAPLAND.**

**I**N the year 1559, the celebrated Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden, sent a missionary of the name of Michael into Lapland, with the view of extending Christianity in that country; for though it had been introduced some ages before the Reformation, yet most of the inhabitants were still sunk in all the horrors of Pagan ignorance and superstition. That prince, therefore, issued a royal mandate, ordaining them to assemble at a certain period of the winter; in order to pay their annual tribute, and to receive instruction in the principles of religion. His successors on the throne of Sweden followed his example in promoting Christianity in Lapland; and about the beginning of the seventeenth century, they were at the expense of erecting churches in different parts of the country, for the accommodation of the inhabitants. Hitherto, however, the labours of the missionaries had been of little use, as they preached in the Swedish language, which the people in general did not understand; while the Lapland youth, who were sent to the university of Upsal, died, either in Sweden, or soon after their return to their own country; and thus the hopes which were formed of them proved abortive. Gustavus Adolphus, therefore, who ascended the throne in 1611, began to establish schools in the country it-



self; and in order to encourage the people to send their children to them, he allotted a certain sum of money for the maintenance of the scholars, as well as for the support of the teachers. Besides erecting schools for the education of the youth, he ordered some useful books to be translated from the Swedish into the Lappone language; and these were afterwards followed by others of still greater importance. In 1648, a Manual was printed at Stockholm, containing the Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon, the book of Ecclesiasticus, Luther's Catechism, Sacred Hymns, and the Lessons from the Gospels and Epistles, with the History of Christ's Passion, and of the Destruction of Jerusalem, the Ritual, and various forms of prayer, translated into the Lappone language, by John Tornæus, minister of Tor-na. In 1669, Olaus Stephen Graan, a native minister of Lapland, published a work under a similar title, containing the Lessons from the Gospels and Epistles, the Collects, the Ritual, the History of Christ's Passion, and some prayers. It differs from the other chiefly in this, that the language is nearer the dialect of the Lapmark of Uma and Pitha.<sup>a</sup>

In the eighteenth century, some new measures were adopted for the spread of Christianity in Lapland. In 1738, the Swedish diet resolved, that the whole Bible should be translated into the Lappone language; that a contribution should be made throughout the kingdom, for the support of the missionaries and the schools; and that the superintendence of

<sup>a</sup> Scheffer's History of Lapland, 1704, p. 60, 63, 65, 67, 72; Fabricii Lux Salutaris toti orbi exorieus, p. 598.



the work should be committed to a college, consisting of some of the principal dignitaries in the kingdom. To this object the inhabitants of Sweden contributed so liberally, that, in a short time, no less a sum was raised than 300,000 rixdollars. In 1755, the New Testament was published in the Lappone language: part of the impression was sold, and part given away, to encourage the people to diligence in reading.<sup>b</sup>

The inhabitants of Swedish Lapland, when young, are in general, it is said, taught to read; but afterwards, for want of books, they often forget what little learning they acquired in early life. In order, therefore, to supply the want of the Holy Scriptures in that country, the British and Foreign Bible Society, published, in 1811, a large edition of the New Testament in the Lappone language, consisting of five thousand copies. One half of the impression was immediately sent to the different ports in the vicinity of Swedish Lapland, from whence, by the special orders of government, copies were forwarded, free of expense, by inland carriers, and distributed in fair proportions among the various parishes of that extensive country.<sup>c</sup>

But though it is now near three centuries since the Swedes began to extend the gospel in Lapland, yet hitherto it has made little progress. The inhabitants, it is true, are professed Christians; but their Christianity is merely nominal, and among some of them the form of it may be sought in vain.

<sup>b</sup> Bock Missions Geschichte, p. 267; Miss. Mag. vol. xiv. p. 377.

<sup>c</sup> Miss. Mag. vol. xiv. p. 377; Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1812, p. 2. Appendix, p. 43, 88.



Traces of their having offered sacrifices to the gods of their fathers are occasionally discovered among them. Few of them reside in the neighbourhood of the churches; and, indeed, they seldom attend them, unless on the solemn festivals, or at a fair, when they have the sacraments administered to them. To ensure their attendance, they are subjected to a heavy fine, and a severe penance if they neglect the appointed festivals. The clergy, such as they are, go little among them, except during their short summers: they are careful, however, to attend the winter markets to receive their pay, and to sell them spirituous liquors, of which the Laplanders are immoderately fond, and of which, it is said, they can drink an enormous quantity without being intoxicated.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Miss. Mag. vol. xiv. p. 419.—Periodical Accounts relative to the Missions of the United Brethren, vol. ii. p. 203.—Scheffer's History, p. 83.—Linnæus' Tour in Lapland, vol. i. p. 114-158.



**CHAPTER THIRD.****PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE DUTCH.****SECTION I.****CEYLON.**

**I**N the beginning of the seventeenth century, the inhabitants of the United Provinces, after having thrown off the yoke of Spain, carried their victorious arms into the East, and wrested from the crown of Portugal some of her most valuable possessions in that quarter of the world. Among these was the island of Ceylon, the whole coast of which, after some time, fell into their hands, while the interior of the country remained under the dominion of the native princes. As the Portuguese, while it was in their possession, had endeavoured to convert the inhabitants to the church of Rome, so the Dutch now attempted to convert them to the Protestant faith; but, unfortunately, the measures they employed for this purpose were in some respects extremely reprehensible. Besides settling ministers and erecting schools in the island, they issued a proclamation, ordaining, that no native should be raised to the rank of a *modelear*, or admitted to any employment under the government, unless he subscribed the Helvetic Confession of Faith, and professed himself a member of the Reformed church. This absurd and impolitic order, so well calculated



to make the people hypocrites, not Christians, was attended with complete success. The higher ranks of the natives, and all who aspired after dignity or office, immediately professed to abandon the religion of their ancestors, and to embrace the faith of their conquerors.<sup>a</sup> Even those who under the Portuguese government had become members of the church of Rome, now forsook her communion, and joined the Reformed church.<sup>b</sup> But while the Dutch endeavoured to bring the Cingalese to the profession of Christianity, the qualifications they required in the catechumens were so very slender, that most of them, it is probable, were little superior, either in knowledge or practice, to the Popish converts in Pagan countries. Nothing more was demanded of them, than that they should learn to repeat the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, a morning and evening prayer, and a grace before and after meat. When the ministers, in the course of their visitations, were certified by the schoolmaster, that the poor Pagans had committed these things to memory, (for they themselves were ignorant of their language,) they proceeded to baptize them without further ceremony!<sup>c</sup> It is not wonderful, therefore, though the Dutch converts should resemble the Roman Catholic in number as well as in character. In 1663, according to the church registers, there were in the district of Jaffnapatam alone, 62,558 men and women who professed the Christian faith, exclusive of the slaves, of whom there were 2,587; the number of children who had been baptized,

<sup>a</sup> Cordiner's Description of Ceylon, vol. i. 155.

<sup>b</sup> Conferences of the Danish Missionaries, p. 347.

<sup>c</sup> Mather's History of New England, book iii. p. 195.



within a few years, amounted to 12,387.<sup>d</sup> But these numbers, large as they are, were greatly augmented in a short time. In 1688, the inhabitants of this district amounted to 278,759, of whom there were no fewer than 180,364 who made a profession of Christianity; and of these, it is said, about 40,000 had been converted within the last four years. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the celebrated Dr. Leusden informs us, that the Dutch ministers in Ceylon had baptized about 300,000 of the inhabitants; and in 1720, Vischer, one of the ministers at Batavia, says that in that island the number of Protestants was daily increasing, and that there were some hundred thousands of the natives who had embraced the Christian faith.<sup>e</sup>

In the education of the Cingalese youth, the Dutch appear to have employed wiser and more beneficial measures. The whole of their possessions on the island were divided into two hundred and forty parishes, in each of which, was erected a Protestant school. A seminary was established for the instruction of native youths of promising talents, in the Dutch language, in order that, by obtaining through the medium of it more extensive knowledge, they might be better qualified to labour as schoolmasters, catechists, and preachers, among their countrymen. Some were even sent to Europe, where they received a more complete education,

<sup>d</sup> Baldæus' Description of the Coasts of Malabar, Coromandel, and Ceylon, in Churchhill's Collection of Voyages, vol. iii. p. 719.

<sup>e</sup> Millar's History of the Propagation of Christianity, vol. ii. p. 474, 478.



and returned to the island ordained to the ministry. In each school, there were three or four teachers, according to the number of the scholars; and over every ten schools, there was a catechist, whose office it was to visit them once a month, to inquire into the conduct of the teachers, to examine the progress of the scholars, and to exhort them both to diligence. In order still further to ensure due attention to the education of the youth, a greater number of the schools was placed under the superintendence of the Dutch minister of the district, who was appointed to visit them once a year. There were generally from twelve to fifteen clergymen on the island, nine of whom were intrusted with this important office. Amidst all the care of the Dutch for the education of the youth, it is a singular circumstance, that the females were totally neglected; it was deemed enough for them, if they were able to repeat a certain number of prayers, and to explain the catechism and creed, before they were allowed to be married. <sup>f</sup> \*

Besides establishing schools for the instruction of

<sup>f</sup> Buchanan's Christian Researches, 3d Edit. p. 83. Fabricii Lux Salutaris, p. 591. Cordiner's Description, vol. i. p. 155.

\* Baldæus, who was a number of years one of the ministers of this island soon after it fell into the possession of the States, informs us, in his "Description of the Coasts of Malabar, Coromandel, and Ceylon," a work published at Amsterdam in 1672, that in the province of Jaffnapatam, there were thirty-four native churches, besides those of the Dutch, and the Portuguese. Of most of these, he has given an engraving in that splendid work; and as they served alternately, as a place of worship on the Sabbath, and a school-house during the week, he has given us the following statement of the number of the hearers and scholars who attended them:—



the natives, the Dutch published a considerable part of the sacred writings in the Tamul language, which is spoken in the north of Ceylon; and also in the

| Churches.        | Hearers. | Scholars. | Churches.        | Hearers. | Scholars. |
|------------------|----------|-----------|------------------|----------|-----------|
| Telipole .....   | 2000     | 1000      | Warranni .....   | 2500     | 800       |
| Mallagam .....   | 600      | 200       | Tenmarache ...   | 1150     | 650       |
| Maylette .....   | 1550     | 750       | Catavelli .....  | 1100     | 600       |
| Achiavelli ..... | 800      | 450       | Ureputti .....   | 850      | 690       |
| Oudewil .....    | 950      | 600       | Paretiture ..... | 3000     | 1000      |
| Batecotte .....  | 2000     | 850       | Pælepolay .....  | 600      | 300       |
| Paneterpou ...   | 1250     | 600       | Mogomale .....   | 500      | 450       |
| Changane .....   | .....    | 700       | Tambamme ...     | 900      | 500       |
| Manipay ... ..   | 750      | 560       | Mulipatto .....  | 350      | 215       |
| Vanarpone ...    | 550      | 200       | Aleputti } ...   | 2600     | 800       |
| Nalour .....     | .....    | 590       | Welane } ...     |          |           |
| Sundecouli ...   | 400      | 450       | Ourature } ...   | 1050     | 490       |
| Copay } ...      | .....    | 800       | Caradwa- .....   |          |           |
| Pontour } ...    | .....    |           | Pongardwa ...    | 800      | 200       |
| Navacouli .....  | 750      | 400       | Analativa .....  | .....    | .....     |
| Chavagatzery     | 2500     | 1000      | Nainatwa .....   | 300      | 70        |
| Cathay .....     | 1150     | 550       | Nindundiva ...   | .....    | .....     |

This Table we have drawn up from Baldæus; and where he has stated different numbers, we have taken the medium between them; but we acknowledge the estimates are in general so high, as to appear to us scarcely credible. There were at that time only two or three ministers for all these churches; so that they were obliged to travel from place to place, and to preach three sermons every Sabbath, and once on a week day, besides constantly visiting the congregations in the country. Most of the churches being by this means without a minister on the Sabbath, the schoolmaster, to supply this want, used to read a sermon to the people in their own language, for which purpose a certain number of discourses was allotted to each of the churches. With regard to the schools, Baldæus informs us, that in 1663, there were in the province of Jaffnapatam alone, 15,012 Cingalese children who attended them, exclusive of those in Manaar and the country of the Waniar, where, in 1665, there were 1315. At the time of his departure from the island, the children in the schools had increased to 18,000.—*Baldæus in Churchill*, vol. iii. p. 713, 719.



Cingalese, which is the common language of the island. In 1743, the New Testament in Tamul was printed at Colombo, under the auspices of the Dutch governor.<sup>g</sup> Previous to this, the four gospels were translated into Cingalese; and in 1783, the whole of the New Testament, with the books of Genesis, Exodus, and part of Leviticus, was published in that language at Colombo.<sup>h</sup> These, with a version of the Psalms of David, are the whole of the sacred writings which the Dutch printed in Cingalese;<sup>i</sup> but there was a version of a number of other books of the Old Testament left in manuscript by one of their ministers.<sup>k</sup>

In 1796, the Dutch possessions on the island of Ceylon surrendered to the arms of the British; and for a considerable time the religious instruction of the natives occupied no part of the attention of their new masters. The European clergymen became prisoners of war; the native catechists and schoolmasters no longer received their salaries; the duties of public worship, and the education of the youth, were either feebly discharged, or entirely neglected; thousands of the natives, who had once called themselves Christians, relapsed into heathenism; and the prohibition of the Dutch against erecting any new Pagan temples being no longer in

<sup>g</sup> Le Long Bibliotheca Sacra, Edit. Maschii, tom. i. part ii. p. 201.

<sup>h</sup> Rep. Bib. Soc. 1810, App. p. 86.

<sup>i</sup> Le Long Biblioth. Sacra, Ed. Maschii, tom. ii. part ii. p. 210.

<sup>k</sup> Rep. Bib. Soc. 1813, App. p. 18.



force, the number of these was in a short time greatly augmented.<sup>1</sup> \*

After sometime, however, the schools were re-established at the expense of government; the Dutch ministers resumed the charge of their congregations; several new preachers were educated in the island; and others still better qualified were brought over from the coast of Coromandel. A very flourishing academy was also established at Colombo, consisting of three different classes of young men, Cingalese, Malabar, and European. They were all taught the English, as well as the native languages. The Cingalese scholars were the sons of the Modelears, and of the people of the first rank in the island, and made no inconsiderable progress in learning.<sup>m</sup>

In August 1812, a Bible Society was instituted at Colombo, under the patronage of the governor and other distinguished persons, with a particular view to the supply of the inhabitants of Ceylon with the Holy Scriptures. Of such an institution the need was most urgent; there were scarcely twenty copies of the New Testament, it was supposed, on the whole island. To remedy this evil, a new edition of the Cingalese New Testament

<sup>1</sup> Cordiner's Description, vol. i. p. 159.—Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, vol. i. p. 231.

<sup>m</sup> Cordiner's Description, vol. i. p. 165.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. iii. p. 415.

\* During the Dutch government, the number of places of worship dedicated to Buddhu, and other objects of idolatry, was reduced to between three and four hundred. In 1807, they had increased to twelve hundred.—*Rep. Bib. Soc.* 1815, App. p. 24.



was immediately printed for the use of the native Christians; but as the translation was deemed very incorrect, several learned natives were employed to make a new version, under the superintendence of William Tolfrey, Esq.; and though this gentleman died while engaged in this work, it was afterwards completed under the inspection of other individuals acquainted with the language. If, however, the old translation was often so low as to disgust Cingalese of moderate literary attainments, the new version was too high for common readers, so that it became necessary to add to it a glossary, or explanation of words, which, being taken from the Sungscrit, and other languages, or not being in ordinary use, were not generally understood. Mr. Tolfrey also superintended a translation of the New Testament into Pali, which is the sacred language of Ceylon, and is a dialect of the Sungscrit; and at his death he had proceeded to the end of the Epistle to Philemon. The Old Testament is likewise translating into the Cingalese language, and part of it is already printed.<sup>a</sup>

With respect to the number of Christians in Ceylon, it is not easy to form any opinion, our accounts are so extremely contradictory. In 1801, the native Protestant Christians on this island, according to the general returns in the ecclesiastical department, amounted to upwards of 342,000.<sup>o</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Rep. Bib. Soc. 1813, App. p. 59, 61.—Ibid. 1814, App. p. 10.—Ibid. 1815, App. p. 22, 41.—Ibid. 1816, App. p. 228.—Ibid. 1818, p. 67. App. p. 19.—Ibid. 1819, App. p. 218.—Ibid. 1821, p. 66.

<sup>o</sup> Cordiner's Description, vol. i. p. 193.



In 1811, the Protestant Christians were estimated at about 250,000, and the Roman Catholics at 85,000; and in this instance, the computation of the Protestants was founded on the returns from the schoolmasters of the several districts. In 1813, according to similar returns, the native Protestants amounted only to about 146,000, and the Roman Catholics to 37,469, exclusive of children under seven years of age. What is still more extraordinary, the Christian inhabitants of Jaffnapatam had fallen below 5000, though not more than twelve years before, there were said to be in that district 138,896 Protestants, 9,632 Catholics, and only 11,362 Pagans;<sup>p</sup> and about twenty years before that, the Christian inhabitants of this province were still more numerous, amounting to no fewer than 186,877, besides 5,201 heathen slaves under instruction.<sup>q</sup> To account for this immense diminution in the number of professed Christians in Ceylon, is not very easy. We apprehend, however, it is to be attributed partly to numbers of the professed Christians having relapsed into paganism; but chiefly to the circumstance, that vast multitudes of them differ so little from the heathen, that in one enumeration, the same persons may have been reckoned Christians, who in another, were accounted Pagans. The fact is, that a large proportion of those who are called Protestant Christians, are in reality heathens; for though they were baptized in their infancy, they are totally ignorant of the principles of the

<sup>p</sup> Rep. Bib. Soc. 1815, App. p. 24.—Christian Observer vol. i. p. 329.

<sup>q</sup> Neure Geschichte der Evangelischen Missions-Anstalten in Ostindien, tom. iii. p. 144.



gospel, and are worshippers of the idol Buddhu.<sup>r</sup> Not a few avow themselves both Christians and Buddhists, and are willing to be sworn as either in a court of justice.<sup>s</sup>

Though the Dutch ministers, who remained in Ceylon after it was taken by the British, have all either died or left the island, yet of late, a number of missionaries of various denominations, have settled upon it, so that the inhabitants are no longer so destitute of Christian instruction, as they were some years ago; and as most of them are patronized in the most liberal manner by the British government, they may be considered as supplying the place of the old clergy. To some of them grants were made of the ancient churches; but many of these are now in a state of dilapidation and decay. In the province of Jaffnapatam may be seen here and there, the mouldering remains of a forsaken church or house, inaccessible from the surrounding jungle, and now the undisturbed habitation of wild beasts and noxious reptiles. There appears in general only a ruinous pillar, or a desolate wall, over which grows spontaneously the aged ivy, as if to bespeak the compassionate inquiries of the Christian traveller, while to heighten the melancholy of the scene, hosts of images, mosques and pagodas, rear their heads, the monuments of the ignorance, superstition, and idolatry of the wretched natives.<sup>t</sup>

<sup>r</sup> Transactions of the Missionary Society, vol. ii. p. 265.

<sup>s</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. iii. p. 414.

<sup>t</sup> Missionary Register, vol. vi. p. 4.—Report of Methodist Missions, 1817, p. 9.



## SECTION II.

## JAVA.

IN 1621, the Dutch, who had now become masters of a great part of Java, opened a church in Batavia,<sup>a</sup> the capital of the island; but of the progress which they made in converting the natives to Christianity, our accounts are extremely meagre. In 1721, the number of Christians on this island was upwards of 100,000; in Batavia, there were two churches, in which public worship was performed in the Dutch language; two in which the Portuguese was employed; and one or two in which the Malay was used.<sup>b</sup> The number of ministers at Batavia, when the list was full, amounted to twelve; but, some years ago at least, they were men nowise distinguished either by their learning or their piety.<sup>c</sup>

In propagating Christianity in Java and the neighbouring countries, there is nothing for which the Dutch were more distinguished, than by their zeal to furnish the inhabitants with the Holy Scriptures. Not many years after the commencement of their labours on this island, the Gospels and other parts of the sacred writings were published in the Malay language, which is spoken not only in Malacca, but through all the adjacent islands. In 1668, the New Testament was print-

<sup>a</sup> Sermons before the Missionary Society, 1795, p. xvi.

<sup>b</sup> Millar's History, vol. ii.—Fabricii Lux Salutaris, p. 594.

<sup>c</sup> Stavorinus' Voyages to the East Indies, vol. i. p. 305, 306.



ed in that language at Amsterdam, at the expense of the East India Company ; and, in 1733, a translation of the whole Bible was published in that city, in Roman characters. This version was afterwards printed in 1758, at Batavia, in five volumes, in the Arabic alphabet, with the addition of the letters peculiar to the Malay, under the direction of the governor-general of the Dutch possessions in the East. <sup>d</sup> Besides the Malay translation, the Dutch printed editions of the sacred writings in the Portuguese language, a corrupt dialect of which is spoken by many of the inhabitants of Java, and of the neighbouring islands, in consequence of their having once been subject to the crown of Portugal. <sup>e</sup>

In June 1814, a Bible Society was instituted at Batavia, with a view to the circulation of the Holy Scriptures throughout eastern Asia, and particularly among the native Christians of this island. Two large editions of the New Testament, in the Malay language, and the Arabic character, have since that period been completed ; and the printing of the Old, is proceeding with all possible despatch. But as this version is in the high Malay, which is spoken in the interior of the island, and is not understood in Batavia, the Java Bible Society, endeavoured to procure a translation of the New Testament into the low Malay, the dialect that is used in that city, a work which, we trust, will be

<sup>d</sup> Le Long Biblioth. Sacra, Ed. Maschii, tom. i. part. ii. p. 193.—Asiatic Researches, vol. x. p. 183.

<sup>e</sup> Propagation of the Gospel in the East, part ii. p. 15.—Fabricii Lux Salutaris, p. 591.—Niecampii Historia Missionis Evangelicæ, p. 275.



accomplished at no distant period.<sup>f</sup> Of these, and other means of religious instruction, the native Christians of this island stand in most urgent need. Their moral character is awfully depraved; they indulge in the grossest vices, and possess as little of Christianity as their Pagan and Mahommedan neighbours.<sup>g</sup>

### SECTION III.

#### FORMOSA.

IN 1631, Mr. Robert Junius was sent, by the Senate of the United Provinces, to the island of Formosa, with the view of introducing Christianity among the Pagan inhabitants. He endeavoured for about two years, to instruct them through the medium of the Dutch language; but as they were in general ignorant of it, he at length acquired the language of the natives, which enabled him to convey his instructions with better effect. Multitudes of the inhabitants, particularly in the northern parts of the island, acquired a considerable knowledge of the principles of Christianity; and they are said, not only to have professed it with their lips, but to have adorned it with their lives. Mr. Junius baptized no fewer than 5,900 adults, exclusive of their children, who, it is probable, would not be less numerous. He also instituted schools, in which, in

<sup>f</sup> Rep. Bib. Soc. 1815, App. p. 116.—Ibid. 1816, App. p. 27.—Ibid. 1818, p. 26. App. p. 22, 236.—Miss. Reg. vol. vi. p. 391, 392.

<sup>g</sup> Baptist Periodical Accounts, vol. vi. p. 229.



the course of a few years, about six hundred of the natives learned to read; and besides a few Dutchmen, whom he employed as teachers, there were about fifty of the converts, whom he trained for this important office. He collected the principal heads of religion, wrote some prayers, and translated several Psalms into the Formosan language. It was chiefly in the northern parts of the island that he carried on these operations; but he also planted churches in twenty-three towns in the south. After labouring about twelve years on this island, Mr. Junius returned to his native country; but he was succeeded by other ministers from Holland, who continued to prosecute the work he had so successfully begun.<sup>a</sup> The Gospels of Matthew and John, translated into the Formosan language, by Daniel Gravius, and a Catechism, written by two other persons, were printed at Amsterdam;<sup>b</sup> but it is probable these works never reached Formosa, or at least were never of much use to the inhabitants, as about the period of their completion, the Dutch were expelled from the island, under circumstances of peculiar horror.

In May 1661, Coxinga, a celebrated Chinese pirate, appeared off Formosa with a force of 20,000 men, and after a severe engagement with the Dutch, effected a landing on the island. In a short time the fort of Province was compelled to surrender to him; but the Dutch in the fort of Zeeland, resolved to defend themselves to the last

<sup>a</sup> The conversion of 5,900 East Indians in the isle of Formosa, London 1650, p. 3, 12.

<sup>b</sup> Fabricii Lux Salutaris, p. 595.



extremity. Coxinga now laid siege to that place; but as he was unsuccessful in all his attacks, he turned it into a close blockade. In the meanwhile, he laid waste the open country, took the Dutch inhabitants prisoners, and treated them in the most barbarous manner. Anxious to bring the war to a close, he sent Mr. Hambrocock, one of the ministers whom he had taken captive, to the governor of the fort, to persuade him to surrender, promising to allow the garrison to depart with the whole of their property; and threatening, in case of a refusal, to revenge himself upon the prisoners. With these instructions, Mr. Hambrocock, repaired to the fortress, leaving his wife and children behind him as hostages; but though he knew that if the negotiation failed, he had nothing to expect but death, he was so far from persuading the garrison to surrender, that he encouraged them to make a brave defence, assuring them that the tyrant had already lost many of his best soldiers; that he began to be weary of the siege, and was afraid lest they should obtain succours from Batavia. After hearing his statements, the Council of war left it to his own choice, either to remain in the fort, or to return to the camp of the enemy. Some entreated him to stay; but with singular magnanimity, he turned a deaf ear to all their solicitations. Two of his daughters who were in the fort, hung about his neck, overwhelmed with grief, and bathed in tears, at seeing him ready to commit himself into the hands of a merciless tyrant, to whose fury he was likely to fall a sacrifice. He represented to them, that as he had left his wife and two other children as hostages in the camp of Coxinga, nothing but



immediate death would await them, if he did not return. He therefore, tore himself from their arms, and left the fort, exhorting the garrison to make a resolute defence, and expressing his hope, that he might be useful to his unfortunate fellow-prisoners.

On his arrival in the camp, Mr. Hambrocock informed Coxinga, that the besieged would not treat with him, unless the possession of the fort was secured to them, and that, rather than surrender, they would defend it to the last extremity. As some of the Formosans had killed several of his followers, the tyrant under the pretence that they had been incited to rebellion by the prisoners, ordered all the men among the Dutch, to the number of five hundred, to be massacred. Among the slain, were the magnanimous Mr. Hambrocock, two other ministers, and a number of schoolmasters, all of whom were beheaded. Many, even of the women and children were put to death; others were reserved for the use of the principal officers, or sold to the common soldiers.

In the meanwhile, the fort of Zealand made a brave resistance; but it was at length compelled to surrender to the enemy, after sustaining a siege of nine months, during which, upwards of sixteen hundred persons perished by famine, by disease, or by the sword. Agreeably to the terms of capitulation, the besieged returned to Batavia, where the governor, and the members of the Council, notwithstanding the brave defence they had made, and the aggravated sufferings they had endured, were thrown into prison, and their property confiscated. The governor was even condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the isle of Ey; but through the intercession



of the Prince of Orange, he was at length set at liberty.<sup>c</sup> The grandson of the Pirate who expelled the Dutch from the island of Formosa, was afterwards obliged to surrender the island to the Emperor of China; and as it has ever since remained in his possession, it is probable, no traces of Christianity are now to be found among the inhabitants.<sup>d</sup>

#### SECTION IV.

##### AMBOYNA.

IN 1647, the Dutch, who had some years before acquired possession of Amboyna, began to introduce Christianity into this island.<sup>a</sup> The inhabitants, both Pagans and Mahommedans, submitted to baptism in great numbers. In 1686, one of the ministers in the capital town, had no fewer than 30,000 of the natives under his pastoral care, who had been converted by him to the Christian faith.<sup>b</sup> Few Catholic missionaries, we suppose, could boast of a more splendid triumph!

The government of Amboyna, included several islands, almost all of them within sight of each other. The number of churches on these islands, according to Captain Hamilton, was no fewer than fifty; and the inhabitants showed a great readiness to embrace Christianity, especially after some of the native

<sup>c</sup> Nieuhoff's *Voyages in Churchill's Collection*, vol. ii. p. 160.

<sup>d</sup> *Modern Universal History*, vol. viii. p. 507.

<sup>a</sup> Nieuhoff's *Voyages in Churchill's Collection*, vol. ii. p. 156.

<sup>b</sup> *Millar's History*, vol. ii. p. 475.



youths, who were sent to Holland for their education, returned ordained to the ministry, and instructed them in the principles of religion. Such of the inhabitants as professed themselves Christians, lived in distinct villages; and in each of these there was a church, where they assembled for divine worship. They were obliged to attend the church and the Catechetical exercises, otherwise their absence was reported to the person in authority, a practice which is continued to the present day. °

In 1775, when Stavorinus was at Amboyna, public worship, in the Malay church, was confined to the reading of a sermon in that language, by one of the visitors of the sick, as the minister did not understand it, and had little inclination to learn it. It had lately been ascertained by a church visitation, that the number of Christians in a part of the places under this government, amounted to 21,124; but of these only 843 were members of the church. Indeed, the superstitious respect which they paid to the ministers, together with a few external forms of religion, were the chief circumstances which distinguished them from the rest of their countrymen. Few of them had a tolerable knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity, or even of the ordinary duties of morality. Unchastity was universal among the women as well as the men; theft was extremely common, and was generally managed with great dexterity; and, like all the Malay tribes, they were distinguished by a peculiar malignity of character. The superstitions of Paganism, appeared

° Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 142.  
—Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 493, 616.



still to maintain their original sway over their benighted minds. When they sailed past a certain hill on the coast of Ceram, they used to propitiate the evil spirit, who, they believed, had his residence in that quarter, by setting afloat a few flowers, and a small piece of money in cocoa-nut shells; and if it was the evening, they also put oil, into them with little wicks, and set them to burn on the water. After presenting this offering to the demon of the hill, they proceeded on their voyage, satisfied that he would do no harm to them or their vessels. <sup>d</sup>

In January 1814, Mr. Jabez Carey was sent to Amboyna to superintend the schools originally established by the Dutch, but which had now lost much of their ancient usefulness and vigour. Besides keeping a large central school under his own care, he had upwards of forty others under his superintendence, on this and the neighbouring islands. The examination of the teachers, was formerly little more than a form, as they were asked merely a few questions from a Catechism, which they had previously committed to memory; but Mr. Carey endeavoured to introduce a new system of examination, and other improvements in the mode of education, which promised to be of essential service to the rising generation. <sup>e</sup> On this island the Holy Scriptures were so scarce, that a Malay Bible at a public sale, lately brought upwards of ten pounds; but the deficiency promises soon to be supplied, as

<sup>d</sup> Stavorinus' Voyages, vol. ii. p. 365, 388.

<sup>e</sup> Bapt. Period. Accounts; vol. v. p. 400, 615. vol. vi. p. 170, 172.



large editions both of the Old and of the New Testament in the Malay language, and the Roman character, have been ordered, and in part printed for the use of this, and the other Molucca islands. <sup>f</sup>

Besides the converts in these places, the Dutch made a multitude of others in Sumatra, Timor, Celebes, Banda, Ternate, and the neighbouring Molucca islands; <sup>g</sup> but for many years past, they have been left in a great measure destitute of the means of religious instruction. Churches are still standing on some of these islands; but they are without ministers: the schoolmasters were not paid their salaries, and hence many of them neglected their schools, and turned their attention to husbandry: copies of the scriptures were so extremely scarce, that even some of the schoolmasters possessed only a few leaves of the Bible, though it was part of their duty to read it to the people. In some of the villages, however, which were left without schoolmasters, the best educated boys used to read a portion of the sacred volume in the church every Sabbath. <sup>h</sup>

<sup>f</sup> Rep. Bib. Soc. 1816, App. p. 27.—Ibid. 1818, p. 73. App. p. 21.—Miss. Reg. vol. vi. p. 391.

<sup>g</sup> Fabricii Lux Salutaris, p. 594.—Niecampii Hist. p. 275.—Paget's Christianographie, p. 275.

<sup>h</sup> Evangelical Magazine, vol. xxii. p. 296.—Miss. Trans. vol. v. p. 280, 283, 285.



## CHAPTER FOURTH.

## PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE ANGLO-AMERICANS.

## SECTION I.

## MASSACHUSETTS COLONY.

AFTER the House of Stuart ascended the throne of England, the tyranny of the government, both in church and state, was so intolerable, that numbers of the people fled from their native land, and sought an asylum in the wilds of America, in the hope of obtaining that liberty of conscience among savages, which was denied them by their own countrymen. Having left their friends and their country chiefly for the sake of religion, they could not behold, with indifference, the poor Indians wandering in the paths of ignorance and error, without God, without Christ, and without hope in the world. For some years, however, the difficulties attending a new settlement in a desert uncultivated region, the quarrels in which they were unfortunately involved with the natives, the disputes that arose among themselves, and various other circumstances, prevented them from making those early exertions for the evangelizing of the Indians, which the nature and importance of the object demanded. A few of the savages, indeed, in different parts of the country, were initiated



in the principles of our holy religion ; but there were no grand attempts made to convert them, to the Christian faith. <sup>a</sup>

In October 1646, Mr. John Eliot, minister of Roxbury, in the neighbourhood of Boston, who by assiduous study, had acquired the Indian language, proceeded, with two or three of his friends, to visit some Indians, at a place about four or five miles from his own house, to whom he had previously given notice of his design to come and instruct them in the Christian faith. Several of them met him at some distance from their wigwams, and conducted him to a large apartment, where a great number of their countrymen were assembled, to hear the new doctrine which the English were to teach them. After a short prayer, Mr. Eliot delivered a discourse to them in the Indian language, which lasted upwards of an hour, and comprehended many of the most important articles of natural and revealed religion. He informed them of the creation of the world, and the fall of man ; of the greatness of God, the maker of all things ; of the ten commandments, and the threatenings denounced against the transgressors of them ; of the character and office of Jesus Christ ; of the last judgment, the joys of heaven, and the torments of hell. Having finished his discourse, he desired them, as was afterwards his ordinary practice, to ask him any questions they might think necessary with regard to the sermon. To the inquiries which some of them proposed, he then endeavoured to give as plain and

<sup>a</sup> Winslow's Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England, London, 1649, p. 1.



simple answers as possible ; and, after a conference of about three hours, he and his friends returned home highly delighted with their visit. Mr. Eliot afterwards repeated his visits to the Indians, and on these occasions, they not only listened to him with great attention, but some of them appeared deeply affected with what they heard. <sup>b</sup>

Encouraged by these auspicious circumstances, the General Court of Massachusetts, on the application of Mr. Eliot, gave the Indians in that neighbourhood some land on which to build a town, where they might live together, enjoy the privilege of religious instruction, and cultivate the arts of civilization. Having now the prospect of settling in one place, a number of them met together to form some laws for the government of their little community, and agreed on the following regulations, some of which are singular enough.

1st, If any man be idle a week, or at most a fortnight, he shall pay a fine of five shillings.

2dly, If any unmarried man lie with an unmarried woman, he shall pay twenty shillings.

3dly, If any man beat his wife, he shall be carried to the place of justice with his hands tied behind his back, and severely punished.

4thly, Every young man who is not a servant, and is unmarried, shall be obliged to build a wigwam, and to plant some ground for himself, and not shift up and down in other houses.

<sup>b</sup> Day-breaking of the Gospel in New England, London, 1647, p. 1, 7, 18.—Gookin's Historical Collections of the Indians in New England in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. i. p. 168.



5thly, If any woman shall not have her hair tied up, but shall allow it to hang loose, or to be cut as men's hair, she shall pay five shillings.

6thly, If any woman go with her breasts uncovered, she shall be fined in two shillings and sixpence.

7thly, If any man wear long hair, he shall pay five shillings.

Lastly, Whoever shall kill their lice between their teeth, shall be fined in five shillings.<sup>c</sup>

Though to us some of these fines may seem inconsiderable, yet to the Indians they must have appeared very heavy, considering the general poverty under which they laboured, and the value of money at that period. Some of the regulations, indeed, are frivolous enough, and certainly had better been omitted; but let it be remembered, every age has its follies.

Influenced by the example of their countrymen, the Indians in the neighbourhood of Concord expressed a similar desire of uniting together, in a regular society, of receiving the Christian faith, and of learning the arts of civilized life. With this view they requested Mr. Eliot to come and preach the gospel to them, and they begged the government to grant them a piece of land, on which they might build themselves a town, in the neighbourhood of the white people. Several of their sachems and other principal men met at Concord, and agreed on the following regulations for their government in civil and religious matters:

1st, That no powawing or conjuring should be

<sup>c</sup> Day-breaking of the Gospel, p. 22.



allowed among them, under a penalty of twenty shillings for each offence.

2dly, That whoever should be drunk, should pay a fine of twenty shillings.

3dly, That whoever should be convicted of stealing, should restore fourfold.

4thly, That whoever should profane the Sabbath, should be fined in twenty shillings.

5thly, That whoever should commit fornication, should pay twenty shillings if a man, and ten shillings if a woman.

6thly, That wilful murder, adultery, and lying with a beast, should be punished with death.

7thly, That no person should beat his wife, under a penalty of twenty shillings.

8thly, That they would lay aside their old ceremonies of howling, greasing their bodies, adorning their hair, and follow the customs of the English.

Lastly, They agreed to pray in their wigwams, and to say grace before and after meat.<sup>d</sup>

Though Mr. Eliot still retained the pastoral charge of the church at Roxbury, he usually went once a fortnight on a missionary excursion, travelling through the different parts of Massachusetts, and of the neighbouring country, as far as Cape Cod, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom to as many of the Indians as would hear him. Many were the toils, many the hardships, many the dangers, he encountered in the prosecution of his evangelical labours. In a letter to Mr. Winslow, he says, “I have not been dry night nor day from Tuesday to Saturday, but have travelled from place to place

<sup>d</sup> Shepard's Clear Sunshine of the Gospel among the Indians, London, 1648, p. 2.



in that condition ; and at night I pull off my boots, wring my stockings, and put them on again, and so continue. The rivers also, were so raised, that we were wet in riding through them. But God steps in and helps me. I have considered the exhortation of Paul to his son Timothy, *Endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.*" When travelling through the wilderness, without a friend or companion, he was sometimes treated very harshly by the Indians, and was even in danger of his life. Both the sachems and the powaws were the determined enemies of Christianity ; the chiefs being jealous of their authority, the priests of their gain. Sometimes the sachems, thrust him out from among them, saying, " It was impertinent in him to trouble himself with them or their religion, and that should he return again, it would be at his peril." To such threatenings he used only to reply, " That he was engaged in the service of the Great God, and therefore he did not fear them, nor all the sachems in the country, but was resolved to go on with his work, and bade them touch him if they dared." To manifest their malignity, as far as possible, they banished from their society such of the people as favoured Christianity ; and when it might be done with safety, they even put them to death. Nothing, indeed, but the dread of the English prevented them from massacring the whole of the converts ; a circumstance which induced some of them to conceal their sentiments, and others to fly to the colonists for protection. <sup>e</sup>

<sup>e</sup> Whitfield's Light appearing more and more towards the perfect day, London, 1651, p. 21, 37.—Neal's History of New England, vol. i. p. 249.



While Mr. Eliot, in the course of his labours among the Indians, had to encounter so many hardships and dangers, he endeavoured to win the affections of the savages, by manifold acts of kindness. There is something very simple, yet very pleasing, in the account which he gives of his mode of treating them: "The work of converting the Indians," says he, "is difficult not only in respect of the language, but also on account of their poverty and barbarous course of life: there is not so much as meat, or drink, or lodging, for them that go to preach among them; but we must carry all things with us, and somewhat to give unto them. I never go unto them empty; but carry somewhat, to distribute among them; and when they come to my house, I am not willing they should go away without some refreshment. Neither do I take any gratuity from them unrewarded; and indeed they do account, that they have nothing worth the giving unto me: only once, when I was up in the country, a poor creature came to me, as I was about to take horse, and shaking me by the hand, with the other thrust something into my hand: I looked what it was, and found it to be a pennyworth of wampum, \* upon a straw's end. I seeing

\* A wampum is a small cylinder, about one third of an inch long, with a hole drilled through the middle of it, and is made of the shell of some sea fish, polished very smooth. A number of these strung together on threads, is called a belt of wampum. Some of them are black, others white; but the former are reckoned most valuable. They were the only money used by the Indians before the country was visited by Europeans; they were also used as ornaments about their necks, wrists, and



so much hearty affection in so small a thing, kindly accepted it, only inviting him to my house, that I might show my love to him.”<sup>f</sup>

In 1651, a considerable number of the Indians, who had embraced the gospel, united together in building a town, which they called Natick, on the banks of Charles’ river, about eighteen miles from Boston. This village consisted of three long streets, with a piece of ground for each family. A few of the houses were built in the English style, but most of them were after the Indian fashion; for, as the former were neither so cheap nor so warm as their wigwams, they generally preferred their own mode of building. There was, however, one large house in the English style; the lower room was a great hall, which served for a place of worship on the Sabbath, and a school-house during the week; the upper room was a kind of wardrobe, in which the Indians deposited their skins and other articles of value; and in one of the corners there was an apartment for Mr. Eliot. Besides this building, there was a large fort of a circular form, palisadoed with trees; and a small bridge over the river, the foundation of which was secured with stone.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>f</sup> Winslow’s Progress of the Gospel, p. 10.

<sup>g</sup> Strength out of weakness, London, 1652, p. 17.—Gookin in Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 180.

other parts of their bodies; they are uniformly employed in all their treaties as a confirmation of them, and are the only records kept by the savages. Without a belt of wampum, a message or an agreement would be reckoned null and void. *Hopkin’s Memoirs relating to the Housatunnuk Indians*, p. 4.



In 1660, the converted Indians were incorporated into a Christian church, and had the Lord's Supper administered to them. The churches of New England, were at that period extremely rigorous in the admission of persons to church fellowship, and required of them decided evidence of personal religion; but in the case of the Indians, they rather increased, than abated their usual strictness. After Mr. Eliot, had himself, heard several of them make confession of their sins, and give an account of their knowledge of the principles of religion, and of their Christian experience, the ministers of the neighbouring churches, assembled by his desire, on a day appointed for the purpose, when a number of the converts made similar declarations before them. With these, the hearers were not only highly pleased, but deeply affected. Mr. Eliot afterwards published their confessions, in order to ascertain the sentiments of the good people in England and America, with respect to them. After a considerable time had elapsed, the ministers of the neighbouring churches held another assembly, for the purpose of examining the Indians; and on this occasion, the converts gave most satisfactory answers, to the questions which were proposed to them. Having passed through this fiery ordeal, several of them were at length baptized; but, as so much rigidity was exercised in admitting them to that ordinance, the number was never very great. About ten years after their little church was incorporated, it consisted only of between forty and fifty members.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>h</sup> Tears of Repentance, London, 1653, p. 1.—Eliot's Mani-



Soon after the formation of the church at Natick, Mr. Eliot had the pleasure of completing a work on which his heart had long been set, and which was intimately connected with the success of his labours, the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the Indian language. In 1661, the New Testament was printed at Cambridge in New England; and about three years after it was followed by the Old Testament. This was the first Bible ever printed in America, and though the impression consisted of two thousand copies, it was sooner exhausted than might have been expected. Besides this great work, he translated into the Indian language various other useful books, as Primers, Catechisms, the Practice of Piety, [Shepard's Sincere Convert, Shepard's Sound Believer, and Baxter's Call to the Unconverted. He also published a Grammar of the Indian language; and at the close of it wrote these memorable words: "Prayers and pains, through faith in Christ Jesus, will do any thing." <sup>i</sup>

Besides instituting schools, where many of the Indians learned to read and write, Mr. Eliot and the other gentlemen who had the superintendence of the mission, were at much expense in educating some of them for the work of the ministry, with the view of employing them as preachers among their own countrymen. This plan, though highly laudable,

festation of the Progress of the Gospel, London, 1655, p. 3, 20.—Mather's History of New England, Book iii. p. 197.—Hutchinson's History of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, vol. i. p. 167.

<sup>i</sup> Mather, Book iii. p. 193, 197.—Holmes' American Annals, vol. i. p. 318, 327.—Works of the Hon. Mr. Boyle vol. i. p. ccxii.



was not so successful as might have been expected. Several of the youth died, after being some years at their education; others relinquished their studies, when they were nearly ready for the college; some, however, persevered, acquired considerable knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, and were qualified for being employed as schoolmasters and teachers among their own countrymen. At Cambridge in New England, a building was erected at an expense of between three and four hundred pounds, under the name of the Indian College. It was large enough to accommodate about twenty persons with convenient lodgings; but for some years, at least, it was chiefly occupied by English students, on account of the death and failure of the Indian youths.<sup>k</sup>

In 1674, the number of towns, within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts colony, inhabited by praying Indians, as they were called, had increased to no fewer than fourteen, to all of which Mr. Eliot appears, in a greater or less degree, to have extended his labours. Of these, seven were of considerable standing; the other seven had begun to listen to the gospel only within the last three years. Many of the congregations in these places, had pastors, elders, and deacons, of their own nation settled among them. It is necessary, however, to remark, that under the appellation of *Praying Indians* were included all who merely submitted to be catechised, attended public worship, read the scriptures, and prayed in their family, morning and evening, even though they

<sup>k</sup> Gookin, in Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 172, 175, 176, 217.



were not admitted either to Baptism or the Lord's Supper. Estimating each family in these towns to consist on an average of five persons, the whole number of individuals enjoying the means of Christian instruction was supposed to amount to about eleven hundred; but among them there were as yet only two churches; and, indeed, the further progress of the gospel among the Indians was greatly interrupted by the war with Philip, a celebrated chief, which began the following year, many of the towns of praying Indians being broken up in consequence of it. In 1684, their stated places of worship were reduced to four; but, besides these, there were some other places, where they occasionally met for divine service.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, Mr. Eliot persevered in his labours among the Indians, as long as his health and strength would permit; but being, at length, worn out with the infirmities of age, he was scarcely able to visit them oftener than once in two months, instead of every fortnight, as had been his usual practice. Even at Roxbury he was no longer able to perform the duties of the pastoral office to his own satisfaction; and, therefore, he very disinterestedly urged his people to call another minister, as he could not die with comfort till he saw a good successor settled among them. "It is possible," said he, "you may think the burden of maintaining two ministers too heavy for you; but I deliver you from that fear.

<sup>1</sup> Gookin in Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 182, 189, 195.—  
Eliot's Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel, London, 1671,  
p. 6.—Boyle's Works, vol. i. p. ccxii.



I do here give back my salary to the Lord Jesus Christ; and now, Brethren, you may fix it on any man whom God shall make your pastor." His church, highly to their honour, assured him, that they would consider his very presence among them worth a salary, when he should no longer be able to do any further service among them. Having obtained an excellent young man for his colleague, Mr. Eliot cherished him with all the care and affection of a father toward a child. For a year or two before his death, he could scarcely be persuaded to undertake any public service in the congregation, humbly pleading, that it would be wrong to the souls of the people, for him to do any thing among them, when they were otherwise so much better supplied. One day, (Dr. Mather thinks it was the last time he ever preached,) after a very distinct and useful exposition of the eighty-third Psalm, he concluded with an apology to his hearers, begging them, "to pardon the poorness, and meanness, and brokenness of his meditations;" but added he, with singular humility, "My dear brother, here, will by and by mend all."<sup>m</sup>

Being, at length, attacked with some degree of fever, he rapidly sunk under the ravages of his disorder, combined as it was with the infirmities of old age. During his illness, when speaking about the evangelizing of the Indians, he said, "There is a dark cloud upon the work of the gospel among them. The Lord revive and prosper that work, and grant that it may live when I am dead. It is a work I have been doing much and long about.

<sup>m</sup> Mather, Book iii. p. 180, 194, 206.



But what was the word I spoke last? I recal that word, *My doings*. Alas! they have been poor, and small, and lean doings; and I will be the man who will cast the first stone at them all." One of the last expressions which were heard to drop from his lips were these emphatic words: "Welcome joy." He at length expired in the beginning of 1690, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and has since been known by the honourable, yet well earned title of THE APOSTLE OF THE INDIANS.<sup>n</sup> \*

Previous to the death of Mr. Eliot, the church at Natick had an Indian minister settled among them; but it appears to have been in a languishing state.<sup>o</sup> In 1698, indeed, there were at that place about a hundred and eighty persons, a number greater than what they were estimated to be upwards of twenty years before; but the church was

<sup>n</sup> Mather, Book iii. p. 173, 194, 207.

<sup>o</sup> Mather, Book iii. p. 194. Book vi. p. 61.

\* Mr. Eliot had several sons, and it was his earnest wish that they should all have been employed in the noble and important work of evangelizing the Indians. His eldest son, indeed, was not only the pastor of an English church, at a place now called Newtown, but, for several years, he regularly preached to the Indians once a fortnight at Pakemitt, and sometimes at Natick, and other places. He was highly esteemed by the most judicious of the Christian Indians, but died in early life, twenty years before his venerable father. Indeed, most of Mr. Eliot's children left the world before him; but not until they had given satisfactory evidence of their conversion to Christ. Hence, when some person asked him, how he could bear the death of such excellent children, the good old man replied, "My desire was that they should have served God on earth; but if he choose rather that they shall serve him in heaven, I have nothing to object against it: His will be done." *Gookin in Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. i. p. 171.—*Mather*, Book iii. p. 174.



reduced to ten members, namely, seven men and three women.<sup>p</sup>

In 1721, Mr. Oliver Peabody was settled as missionary at Natick. There was then no church at that place, nor even a single individual among the Indians, who was known to have been baptized. The church formed by Mr. Eliot, was now totally extinct. Besides labouring to Christianize the Indians, Mr. Peabody endeavoured to promote civilization among them. He was anxious to induce them to abandon their savage modes of life, and he happily lived to see numbers of them, possessed of comfortable houses, cultivated fields, and flourishing orchards. Many of them were much impressed with divine things, and a number of them, it is hoped, became partakers of divine grace. During the thirty years that Mr. Peabody laboured among them, about one hundred and ninety of the Indians were baptized; but of these, only thirty-five were admitted to full communion with the church.<sup>q</sup>

In 1763, according to a census then taken, there were in Natick only thirty-seven Indians; but in this return, it is probable, the wandering Indians were not included. Indeed, they so frequently change their place of residence, and are so intermarried with blacks and whites that it is next to impossible to ascertain the precise number who may still remain. In 1797, it was supposed that there were about twenty of the Natick Indians who were of pure blood, and either resided in that town, or

<sup>p</sup> Holmes' American Annals, vol. ii. p. 37.

<sup>q</sup> Panoplist, vol. iv. (N. S.) p. 50, 53.



belonged to it. Few of them, however, attended public worship; none of them were remarkable for piety; and, indeed, only two or three of them were members of a Christian church. There were none among them who retained the knowledge of their original language, so as to be able to speak it, though one old woman said she could understand it when spoken by others. We notice these circumstances minute as they are, because it is interesting to know the history and the present state of the Indian flock of the celebrated John Eliot.

Besides the Indians at Natick, there were, in 1764, eight or ten families at a place called Grafton; and in 1792, there were still about thirty persons who retained a part of their lands, and received an annual quitrent from the white inhabitants. These, with a few other Indians at Stoughton, it is believed, are all the remains of the numerous and powerful tribes which anciently inhabited the colony of Massachusetts.<sup>r \*</sup>

<sup>r</sup> Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 195. vol. v. p. 43

\* Before leaving this part of our history, we may notice some curious circumstances mentioned by Dr. Mather, with regard to the mode of instruction employed by the Roman Catholics in converting the Indians of America. They were extracted by him from the manuscript of a Jesuit missionary which had fallen into his hands, containing a catechism relative to the principles in which the poor Pagans were to be instructed, and cases of conscience with regard to their conduct in life. From the chapters concerning heaven and hell, we shall select a few particulars:—

Q. How is the soil made in heaven?

A. It is a very fair soil. They want neither for meat nor clothes; we have only to wish and we have them.

Q. Are they employed in heaven?



## SECTION II.

## MARTHA'S VINEYARD.

IN 1642, Mr. Thomas Mayhew, senior, who had obtained a grant of Martha's Vineyard, Nantuket, and Elizabeth isles, placed his son, a young man of considerable learning and piety, with a few

A. No. They do nothing. The fields yield corn, beans, pumkins, and the like, without any tillage.

Q. What sort of trees are there?

A. Always green, full and flourishing.

Q. Have they in heaven the same sun, the same wind, the same thunder that we have here?

A. No. The sun ever shines; it is always fair weather.

Q. But how are their fruits?

A. In this respect they excel ours, that they are never wasted. You have no sooner plucked one, but you see another hanging in its room.

In this manner the catechism goes on with regard to heaven. Concerning hell there are, among others, the following questions:

Q. What sort of a soil is hell?

A. A very wretched soil; it is a fiery pit in the centre of the earth.

Q. Have they any light in hell?

A. No. It is always dark: there is always smoke there; their eyes are always in pain with it; they can see nothing but devils.

Q. What shaped things are the devils?

A. Very ill shaped things; they go about with vizards on, and terrify men.

Q. What do they eat in hell?

A. They are always hungry; and the damned feed upon hot ashes and serpents.

Q. What water have they to drink?

A. Horrid water. Nothing but melted lead.



other English people, in Martha's Vineyard. Being invited by his fellow-settlers to become their pastor, young Mr. Mayhew was not satisfied that his labours should be confined to so small a handful of his countrymen, but acquired the Indian language with the view of Christianizing the natives, of whom, it is said, there were several thousands on this and the neighbouring islands. He began by endeavouring to win their affections by kind and gentle usage; and, in a short time, he had the pleasure of witnessing the good effects of this plan on one of the Indians, named Hiacoomes. This young man having come one day, to the plantation of the White people, Mr. Mayhew, invited him to his house, entertained him in a very friendly manner, and embraced this opportunity of conversing with him concerning the excellence of the Christian religion, compared with the Indian mode of worship. Hiacoomes was much impressed by this conversation; in a short time he renounced the religion of his country, and made frequent visits to Mr. Mayhew with the view of obtaining further instruction in the principles of the gospel.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Whitfield's Light appearing towards the perfect day, p. 3.—Neal's Hist. New Eng. vol. i. p. 262.—Mayhew's Indian Converts, p. 280.

Q. Do they not die in hell?

A. No. They eat one another every day; but God immediately restores and renews those that were eaten, as a cropt plant in a little time shoots out again.

Such is a specimen of this singular work. Had not Dr. Mather informed us, that a copy of it in the Iroquois language, with a translation annexed to it, had fallen into his own hands, we could scarcely have believed, that even Jesuit missionaries would have had recourse to such artifices for alluring the Indians to the profession of the Christian faith.—*Mather*, Book iii. p. 203



The revolt of Hiacoomes from the religion of his ancestors, alarmed the whole island. All his countrymen were roused with indignation against him; they loaded him with insults and reproaches, with hatred and contempt. By degrees, however, they cooled in their resentment; and, at length, their indignation was changed into reverence, their hatred into respect. Hiacoomes and his family happening to escape a particular disorder which spread over the whole island, his countrymen began to conceive a more favourable opinion both of him and of the Christian religion; and after holding a consultation together, the inhabitants of a neighbouring town sent a messenger to him, desiring him to hasten to them, and tell them of the God whom the English worshipped. On his arrival, he found the chief and a great number of the people assembled together, and when he represented to them some of the leading principles of Christianity, they listened with great attention; and appeared in some degree convinced of their sinfulness.<sup>b</sup>

In 1646, soon after this event, the chief sent for Mr. Mayhew, and requested him to establish a meeting among them, and to make known the word of God to them in their own language. "Thou shalt be to us," said he, "as one that stands by a running stream, filling many vessels; even so shalt thou fill us with everlasting knowledge." These proceedings were not, indeed, equally agreeable to all the Indians. Numbers, on the contrary, opposed

<sup>b</sup> Whitfield's *Light appearing towards the perfect day*, p. 6.  
—Neal's *Hist. New England*, vol. i. p. 263.—Mayhew's *Ind. Con.* p. 282.



them with the utmost bitterness and zeal. They mocked and derided such as attended the meetings, and blasphemed the God whom they worshipped. The chief who had invited Mr. Mayhew, was in a particular manner the object of their indignation and rage. An attempt was even made against his life, on account of the attachment he shewed to the new religion; but this, instead of frightening him from his purpose, only strengthened his resolution, and inflamed his zeal.

In 1649, at a meeting of the Indians, both of such as opposed and of such as favoured Christianity, the authority of the powaws was publicly debated, many asserting their power to hurt and kill their enemies, and alleging numerous stories of this kind, which they said were evident and undeniable. Some of them stood up and asked, "Who does not fear the powaws?" To this, others replied, "There is no man who does not fear them." The eyes of the whole assembly were now turned to Hiacoomes. He therefore rose from his seat, and boldly answered: "Though the powaws may hurt such as fear them, yet he trusted in the Great God of heaven and earth, and therefore all the powaws in the world could do him no harm: he feared them not." The whole assembly were astonished at this bold declaration, and expected some terrible judgment to overtake him immediately; but observing that he remained unhurt, they began to change their views, and to esteem him happy in being delivered from the power of their priests, of whom they were all in such terror. Several of them even declared they now believed in the same God, and would fear the powaws no more.



Being desired to tell them what the Great God would have them to do, and what were the things that offended him, Hiacoomes immediately began to represent to them a number of the sins of which they were guilty; and, at the close of the meeting, no fewer than twenty-two of the Indians resolved to renounce the superstition of their fathers, and to embrace the religion of the White people. Enraged at these proceedings, the powaws threatened to kill the praying Indians; but Hiacoomes and his friends challenged them to do their worst, telling them they would abide their power in the face of the whole island.<sup>c</sup>

Encouraged by these auspicious circumstances, Mr. Mayhew now redoubled his zeal, and pursued his labours with more energy than ever. He spared not himself, neither by day nor night, traveling among the Indians in different parts of the island, lodging in their smoky wigwams, and partaking of their homely fare. He possessed singular sweetness and affability of manners, by which he wonderfully gained their affections. Besides catechising their children he preached to them every fortnight; and after sermon, he usually spent more time than in the discourse itself, reasoning with them in a plain familiar manner, answering their questions, removing their doubts, silencing their cavils, and resolving cases of conscience put to him. Every Saturday morning, he also conferred privately with Hiacoomes, who preached to

<sup>c</sup> Whitfield's *Light appearing towards the perfect day*, p. 9.  
—Neal's *Hist. New Eng.* vol. i. p. 264.—Mayhew's *Ind. Con.* p. 282, 284.



his countrymen on the Sabbath, directed him in the choice of his subject, and furnished him with materials for illustrating it.<sup>d</sup>

About 1650, a circumstance occurred which amazed the whole island, and wonderfully promoted the progress of Christianity among the Indians. This was the conversion of two of the powaws. These poor creatures, who had been the slaves of Satan from their infancy, now professed themselves the servants of God, revealed the mysteries of their diabolical art, and expressed the utmost abhorrence of their past conduct. It rejoiced the Christian Indians to behold the powaws beginning to turn to the Redeemer, and it no less confounded their pagan countrymen. Many of them, and even the sorcerers themselves, it is said, began to acknowledge, that since the gospel was preached among them, they had been singularly foiled in their conjurations; and instead of curing, had often killed their patients.<sup>e</sup>

In 1657, Mr. Mayhew undertook a voyage to England, with the view of giving a more particular account of the state of the Indians than it was possible to do by letters, in the hope of thereby promoting the advancement of religion among them. But, alas, how mysterious are the ways of Providence! Neither the ship nor any of the passengers were ever heard of more. It was, therefore, concluded that she had foundered at sea, and that all on board had perished. Thus came to a pre-

<sup>d</sup> Neal's Hist. New Eng. vol. i. p. 266.—Mayhew's Ind. Con. p. 285.

<sup>e</sup> Strength out of weakness, p. 28.—Mayhew's Letter in Tears of Repentance.—Mayhew's Ind. Con. p. 287.



mature and melancholy end, Mr. Thomas Mayhew, a man so justly and so affectionately beloved by the Christian Indians, that for many years after his death, they seldom named him without shedding tears.<sup>f</sup>

But though the Indians of Martha's Vineyard thus lost a pastor of inestimable worth and excellence, they were not left to wander as sheep without a shepherd. His venerable father, Thomas Mayhew, Esq. the patentee of this and the neighbouring islands, though he had hitherto taken no active part in evangelizing the Indians, had yet felt a deep concern for their welfare, and had, in various ways, promoted their interest. After the gospel had made some progress in the island, he persuaded the chiefs to admit into the council some of the most judicious of the Christian Indians; and in cases of more than ordinary difficulty, to introduce trial by jury. By means of his exertions, a regular civil government was established among them; and records were kept of the proceedings of their courts by some of themselves, who had learned to write. But as he now saw no probability of their obtaining a regular minister, he was induced, by zeal for the glory of God, and the salvation of souls, to undertake the oversight, not only of their temporal, but of their spiritual concerns. Though about seventy years of age, he began with unwearied diligence to perfect himself in their language, of which he had already some knowledge; and though a governor, he was not ashamed to become a preacher among them, sometimes travelling

<sup>f</sup> Mayhew's Ind. Con. p. 291.



on foot near twenty miles through the woods to visit them. The Indians, were so pleased and edified with his ministrations, that, a few years afterward, they requested him to accept of the pastoral office among them; but, apprehending this would not correspond so well with the chief place which he held in the civil government, where they also greatly needed his assistance, he advised them to choose such of the Indian preachers as he thought most judicious, and promised to be most useful among them. Agreeably to his advice, they made choice of Hiacoomes and John Tackanash, who accordingly were both ordained to the work of the ministry among them, while old Mr. Mayhew continued to labour as an evangelist, both in Martha's Vineyard, and in the neighbouring islands. <sup>s</sup>

In 1674, the whole number of native families on Martha's Vineyard, was about three hundred, of whom, more than three-fourths, or, as Dr. Mather estimates them, about fifteen hundred persons, were praying Indians. Among these, there were fifty in full communion, whose holy and exemplary life bore ample testimony to the inward work of grace in their hearts. It may also be proper to add, that there were ten Indian preachers, seven jurisdictions, and six meetings, every Lord's day. <sup>n</sup>

At Nantuket, an island about twenty miles distant, which was often visited by Mr. Mayhew, there was also a church of Christian Indians. The whole number of families in that quarter, at the period now

<sup>s</sup> Mather, Book vi. p. 57.—Mayhew's Ind. Con. p. 298.

<sup>n</sup> Gookin in Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 205.—Mather, Book iii. p. 200.



mentioned, was estimated at about three hundred. Among these there were about thirty individuals in full communion, forty children who had been baptized, and about three hundred persons, including both old and young, who prayed to God and observed the Sabbath. They had meetings in three different places, and four Indian teachers among them.<sup>1</sup>

In 1680, the venerable Mr. Mayhew died, in the ninety-third year of his age, to the great grief of the inhabitants of the island. Previous to his death, however, one of his grandchildren, Mr. John Mayhew, was settled as the pastor of the English families, and the Indians would not be satisfied until he became a preacher to them likewise, even though his grandfather still laboured with great acceptance among them. After the death of that good man, as he had now both the Indians and the English under his pastoral care, it became necessary for him to redouble his diligence and zeal, especially as some erroneous opinions threatened to spread in the island. His course on earth, however, was short. During his last sickness, he expressed a wish that, "if it were the will of God, he might live a little longer, and do some more service for Christ in the world." Such, however, was not the appointment of heaven. After a few months' illness, he died, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and the sixteenth of his ministry. With him, however, did not expire the missionary zeal of the Mayhew family. That sacred flame, which burned with so much ardour in the breast of his excellent an-

<sup>1</sup> Gookin in Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 206, 207.



cestors, continued to glow in the bosom of his posterity.<sup>k</sup>

In March 1694, Mr. Experience Mayhew, his eldest son, succeeded him, as a missionary among the Indians. They were now greatly diminished in number on Martha's Vineyard, as well as in all the English settlements; yet, such was the progress of the gospel among them, that we are informed, a few years afterward, that out of a hundred and eighty families who still lived on that island, there were only two individuals who continued heathens. As Mr. E. Mayhew, was considered one of the greatest masters of the Indian language that had appeared in New England, having been familiar with it from his infancy, he was employed to make a new version of the book of Psalms, and of the Gospel according to John. Besides this, he published, in 1727, a small volume, entitled *Indian Converts*, in which he gives a particular account of a considerable number of the natives who had embraced the gospel, and appeared to adorn their Christian profession. It is written with great candour, and evidently with a strict regard to truth; and though the examples of piety which it records are not so distinguished for holiness, nor so free from imperfections as might be wished, yet, on the whole, it may be considered as affording pleasing evidence of the power of the gospel, in changing the hearts of savages, and conforming them to the divine image.<sup>l</sup>

<sup>k</sup> Mayhew's Ind. Con. p. 302.

<sup>l</sup> Mayhew's Ind. Con. p. 306.—Millar's History, vol. ii. p. 461.



In November 1758, Mr. E. Mayhew died of apoplexy, after labouring among the Indians, for the long period of nearly sixty-five years. He was succeeded by his son, Mr. Zechariah Mayhew, who continued to labour among them, until his death, which happened in 1803, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. With him terminated, to the sorrow of the neighbouring churches, and of the Indians on Martha's Vineyard in particular, the missionary career of the Mayhew family, which had been distinguished for five successive generations, during upwards of a century and a half by their labours, and their zeal for the conversion of the heathen, an honour which, perhaps, no other family has enjoyed since the first promulgation of Christianity.<sup>m</sup>

To this account of the Mayhews, it may not be improper to add what little information we possess respecting the Indians under their care. In 1720, there were on Martha's Vineyard six small towns, containing a hundred and fifty-five families, and about eight hundred souls. In each of these villages there was an Indian preacher. There was also a small meeting on Winthrop's island; another, composed of twelve or fourteen families, on Tucker's island and Nashaun, which lie adjacent to each other; and a third, consisting of a few Baptists, at Gayhead.<sup>n</sup>

In 1763, there still remained in Duke's county three hundred and thirteen Indians; and about that period, they began to intermarry with the ne-

<sup>m</sup> Biblical Magazine, vol. ii. p. 365.—Panoplist, vol. iv, (N. S.) p. 385.

<sup>n</sup> Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i.



groes, in consequence of which, they not only increased in number, but improved in temperance and industry. About 1792, they amounted to four hundred and forty persons, but of these there were not one-third who were pure Indians. °

About the middle of the eighteenth century, there were still five small congregations on Martha's Vineyard; but in 1800, they were reduced to three, two of whom had countrymen of their own as pastors over them. The whole number of persons in full communion with these different churches was about forty. Most, if not all of the Indians on the island, were professed Christians, but many of them appeared to have nothing more than a form of godliness, yet still there were a few, who, it was hoped, were no strangers to vital piety. Within these few years, schools have been established among them with considerable prospects of success. p

With regard to the Indians on the island of Nantuket, our account must be still less favourable. Soon after the settlement of the English among them, they greatly decreased in number, and now the whole race is nearly extinct. In 1694, the adult persons on that island were reduced to about five hundred. Even then not a single Powaw was to be found among them; but there was a great decay of vital religion. Many of the most pious Indians had died; and such as remained, regarded more the form than the power of godliness. Numbers of them were excessively addicted to the

° Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 206.

p Bib. Mag. vol. ii. p. 366.—Miss. Mag. vol. vi. p. 384.—  
Boston Missionary Herald, vol. xv. p. 292.



use of spiritous liquors. Some, however, appeared of a serious character; and they had still five assemblies and three churches among them, two of them congregational and one Baptist.<sup>a</sup>

In 1763, there were still three hundred and fifty-eight Indians on the island of Nantuket; but a fever, which attacked them about that period, committed such terrible ravages among them, that, in the course of a few months, no less than two hundred and twenty-two of them died. In 1792, the Indians on this island were reduced to four males and sixteen females; and there was no longer any assembly among them for divine worship.<sup>r</sup>

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### SECTION III.

#### NEW PLYMOUTH COLONY.

ANIMATED by the example and exhortations of Mr. Eliot, some ministers and others in the colony of New Plymouth, engaged in the same noble undertaking, the Christianizing of the Indians. Among these was Mr. Richard Bourne, a man of some property, in the vicinity of Sandwich. Having, with great industry, acquired a knowledge of the Indian language, he began to preach the gospel to some of the savages in his own neighbourhood; and, meeting with considerable encouragement and success among them, he extended his labours to those in other

<sup>a</sup> Mather, Book vi. p. 56.

<sup>r</sup> Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 207. vol. iv. p. 66.



quarters, and succeeded in bringing numbers of them to the profession of the Christian faith.<sup>a</sup>

Sensible, however, of the importance of the Indians possessing some territory of their own, on which they might fix their residence, both in order to the evangelizing and civilization of them, Mr. Bourne about the year 1660, procured for them, a grant of land at Mashpee, a place about fifty miles from Boston; and not content with the Indian deeds according to the forms usual at that period, his son afterwards obtained a ratification of them by the court of Plymouth, and an entailment of the property to the Indians and their children for ever; so that no part of it could be sold to any White person, without the consent of all the Indians, not even by an act of the general court itself. Never, perhaps, was a place better chosen for an Indian town. It was situated on the Sound, in sight of Martha's Vineyard, and not only lay contiguous to the sea, but was watered by three rivers and three lakes, in the centre of the territory. In the bays were abundance of fish of every description; in the rivers were trout, herring, &c.; in the woods were plenty of game; and adjacent to the rivers and lakes, were otters, minks, and other amphibious animals, the furs of which furnished the Indians with a valuable article of commerce.<sup>b</sup>

In 1666, Mr. Eliot, accompanied by the governor and several other magistrates and ministers, and a great multitude of people, held a meeting at

<sup>a</sup> Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. iii. p. 189.—Gookin in Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 196.

<sup>b</sup> Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. iii. p. 189, 190.



Mashpee, when a considerable number of the Indians made a public profession of their faith in Christ, and their obedience to him, with such understanding, and seriousness, as proved highly gratifying to the pious auditory. Yet such was the strictness of the good people in this affair, that they would not countenance the admission of them into Christian fellowship, until their confessions were written and circulated among all the churches in the colony, and had obtained their approbation. As these, however, were highly approved of, the Indians were afterwards formed into a church, and Mr. Bourne was ordained as their pastor. <sup>c</sup>

The Indians among whom Mr. Bourne laboured, appear to have been scattered through a number of towns and villages. In 1674, they amounted to about five hundred, who lived in upwards of twenty different places. Of these, ninety were baptized, and twenty-seven were in full communion; no fewer than one hundred, and forty-two were able to read Indian, seventy-two had learned to write, and nine could read English. Besides these, there were upwards of a hundred children, who had lately begun to read and write, but were not included in this enumeration. Some of these Indians, by their general conduct, afforded pleasing evidence of a work of grace in their hearts; but many of them, it must be acknowledged, were very loose in their behaviour, and occasioned their pious minister inexpressible sorrow. <sup>d</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Mather, Book iii. p. 199.—Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 198. vol. iii. p. 190.—Eliot's Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel, p. 3.

<sup>d</sup> Gookin in Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 196.—Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. iii. p. 191.



After the death of Mr. Bourne, an Indian preacher named Simon was settled over his countrymen, and he appears to have laboured among them upwards of forty years. In 1693, there were at Mashpee, and two neighbouring villages, 214 catechumens, who attended on the preaching of the gospel, besides some others who had no fixed place of residence; nor do they, on the whole, appear to have decreased in number in the course of the following century, as was the case with the Indians in most other places. In 1792, there were still at Mashpee, about two hundred and eighty Indians; but of these, at least two-thirds were a mixed race. The whole of them valued themselves on being Christians, and some of them were an honour to their profession, but many of them were on the contrary a disgrace. They were more civilized than any other Indians in the commonwealth, but utterly incapable of defending themselves from the encroachments of the White people, many of whom would defraud and oppress them, were they not protected by some good men in their neighbourhood. This place, in consequence of its being so completely secured to the natives, proved an asylum to the Indians from various parts of the neighbouring country. Some have even resorted to it, from Georgia and the East Indies.<sup>c</sup>

Besides the missionary efforts of which we have given an account, there were various other attempts made in the course of the seventeenth century to

<sup>c</sup> Mather, Book vi. p. 61.—Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 230. vol. iii. p. 191, 192. vol. iv. p. 66.—Barnard's Sermon before the Society at Boston, for propagating the Gospel, p. 35.



Christianize the Indians in different parts of New Plymouth Colony. In this noble work, many of the ministers honourably distinguished themselves by their activity and zeal, and some of them, beheld their labours crowned with considerable success. In 1685, the number of praying Indians in this colony, amounted to no fewer than 1439, exclusive of children under twelve years of age, who were supposed to be more than three times that number. Since that period, however, the Indians have greatly diminished in number; and, except at Mashpee, there is at present no native church in the whole district.<sup>f</sup>

In Connecticut several ministers were likewise employed in evangelizing of the Indians; but their exertions were attended with little success. Though individuals among the natives were converted to Christianity; yet no church of Indians was collected in that colony.<sup>g</sup> \*

<sup>f</sup> Mather, Book iii. p. 200. Book vi. p. 50, 60.—Strength out of Weakness, p. 2.—Millar's History, vol. ii.—Hutchinson's History, vol. i. p. 349.—Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 201.

<sup>g</sup> Trumbull's History of Connecticut, vol. i. p. 494.

\* In 1649 an ordinance was passed by the English Parliament, for the erection of a *Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England*, and a collection was appointed to be made for its support, throughout the whole of England and Wales. Considerable sums were accordingly raised in various parts of the country, and lands were purchased with the money to the value of between five and six hundred pounds a year. On the restoration of Charles II. the Corporation being dead in law, Colonel Bedingfield, a Roman Catholic, who had sold them an estate of £322 *per annum*, basely repossessed himself of it, and refused, at the same time, to repay the money he had received for it. In 1661, however, the Corporation was revived



## SECTION IV.

## NEW STOCKBRIDGE.

IN October 1734, Mr. John Sergeant proceeded among the Indians, on the river Housatunnuk, in the province of Massachusetts, who had lately agreed to receive a minister among them, to instruct them in the principles of religion. Previous to this, the zeal of Mr. Sergeant for the conversion of the heathen was not unknown, as he had freely declared in conversation, he would rather be employed as a missionary among the Indians, than settle in any English congregation; and long before he had any prospect of being engaged in that capacity, it had been a petition in his daily prayers, that God would send him to these unenlightened Pagans, and render him instrumental in turning them from the error of their ways to the wisdom of the just. He

by a new charter from his Majesty, the estate which Bedingfield had so unjustly seized was restored to them, and the Hon. Mr. Boyle, a man distinguished at once as a philosopher and a Christian, was chosen governor, an office which he held about thirty years. (*Hazard's Historical Collections of State Papers, &c. as Materials for a History of the United States*, vol. ii. p. 147, 175, 311.—*Gookin in Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. i. p. 211.—*Boyle's Works*, vol. i. p. 68, 151.) It was this society which supported the various missionary undertakings in New England, during the seventeenth century; and as an illustration of the nature and extent of its operations, as well as a specimen of the expense attending exertions of this kind at that period, we shall here subjoin a copy of the accompt sent by the Commissioners of the United Colonies to the Corporation in London, of the expenditure for the year 1661:



had already finished his course of study at Yale College, and was now employed as a tutor in that seminary ; but no sooner was he invited to go as a missionary among the Housatunnuk Indians, than he consented to the proposal, cheerfully exchanging the pleasures of a college life, which to him was no

“ September 12 : 1661

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |           |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| To John Latimore a messenger sent from Newhauen to Boston to cary letters to bee sent to the Corporation the ship being Reddy to sett sayle . . . . .                                                                         | 2 10 00   |
| To six coates given to the Pequott Indians for their encouragement . . . . .                                                                                                                                                  | 3 02 06   |
| To mistris Bland of the vinyards for her paines and care amongst the Indians there and for Physicke and Surgery not brought to account last year . . . . .                                                                    | 05 00 00  |
| To mr. Mayhew that hee distributed to well deserueing Indians . . . . .                                                                                                                                                       | 02 10 00  |
| To sundry Disbursments upon the account of printing as appears by account now sent . . . . .                                                                                                                                  | 196 19 01 |
| To seuerall bookes deliuered to the Indian Scollers and Mathew Mayhew as by accounts appeers . . . . .                                                                                                                        | 08 17 11  |
| To the Gouvernor of Newhauen in lue of five pounds alowed him in our last yeares account to distribute amongst well deserueing Indians which was sent to him from Boston by Joseph Alsop whoe was cast away att Sea . . . . . | 05 00 00  |
| To Mr. James of Easthampton for his paines in Instructing the Indians att Long Iland and fitting himselfe for that worke the last yeare ending September (60) but not brought to account till now . . . . .                   | 10 00 00  |
| To Mr. Peirson for extreordinary paines attending publicke meetings of the Indians in the bay, &c. which was not brought to account ; which was allowed him the last yeare . . . . .                                          | 10 00 00  |
| To him for his Sallery this yeare ending September 1661 . . . . .                                                                                                                                                             | 30 00 00  |
| To Mr. John Elliot senr. for his Sallery now due . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                    | 50 00 00  |
| To Job his interpreter and 4 scoolmasters viz. Ro-                                                                                                                                                                            |           |



small sacrifice, for a residence among savages. "I should be ashamed," said he, "to call myself a *Christian*, or even a *Man*, and yet refuse to do what lay in my power to cultivate humanity among a people naturally ingenious enough, but who, for want of instruction, live so much below the dignity

|                                                                                                                                                                                                           |          |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| bert sometimes a schoolmaster att Cambridge, John<br>Magus, Ponanpam and vpacowillin ten pounds a<br>peece . . . . .                                                                                      | 40 00 00 |
| To Mr. John Elliot Junr. for his Sallery for the<br>yeare past ending September 61 . . . . .                                                                                                              | 25 00 00 |
| To Mr. Joseph Elliot for the like . . . . .                                                                                                                                                               | 10 00 00 |
| To Mr. Thomas Mayhew of the vinyards for his sal-<br>lery . . . . .                                                                                                                                       | 30 00 00 |
| More for his extreordinary paines charge and trouble<br>for the time past amongst the Indians there . . . . .                                                                                             | 10 00 00 |
| To 8 Indian Schoolmasters and Teachers of the In-<br>dians there viz : To Sakomas Memeekeen Taka-<br>nah Kisquich Samuell Manaso James and Anna-<br>wanitt . . . . .                                      | 30 00 00 |
| To wheele Cards and Cotten woole to Imploy the<br>Indian weemen att the vinyards to bee kept as a<br>comon Stocke for them . . . . .                                                                      | 10 00 00 |
| To mistris Mayhew the Relicte of Mr. Thomas May-<br>hew for her Incurragement and support . . . . .                                                                                                       | 10 00 00 |
| To Fesenden of Cambridge for the Diett of Mathew<br>Mayhew . . . . .                                                                                                                                      | 08 00 00 |
| To Peter Folger a Teacher att the vinyard . . . . .                                                                                                                                                       | 20 00 00 |
| To mistris Bland for her paines care and Physicke<br>for the Indians att the Vinyard for this yeare and<br>to satisfy her for what was short of her expecta-<br>tion and expence the last yeare . . . . . | 05 00 00 |
| To mr. Danforth of Cambridge for the Diett and<br>clothing of 4 Indian Scollars for one yeare ending<br>att October next att 15lb. a pece . . . . .                                                       | 60 00 00 |
| To the clothing of Mathew Mayhew for the yeare<br>past . . . . .                                                                                                                                          | 05 00 00 |
| To woode to the Scoole . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                          | 00 18 00 |



of human nature, and to promote the salvation of souls perishing in the dark, when yet the light of life is so near them.”<sup>a</sup>

Scarcely, however, had Mr. Sergeant entered on his labours among the Indians, when the Dutch traders in the neighbourhood endeavoured to frustrate his exertions, and to ruin his character by the basest and most artful insinuations. As they derived great profits from selling the Indians rum, and by striking bargains with them when they

<sup>a</sup> Hopkin's Memoirs relating to the Housatunnuk Indians, and to the ministry of the Rev. John Sergeant, 1753, p. 2, 5, 8, 149.

|                                                                                                                        |          |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| To clothing an Indian att his first coming                                                                             | 1 00 00  |
| To mr. Corlett for teaching 4 Indians and Mathew Mayhew                                                                | 12 00 00 |
| To mr. Weld of Rocksbury for the Diett Clothing and Teaching of 2 Indians Boyes one year ending the 10th December next | 30 00 00 |
| To mr. Bourne of Sandwich for his constant Teaching and Instructing the Indians in those parts                         | 25 00 00 |
| To mr. Willam Tompson for teaching the Indians there                                                                   | 20 00 00 |
| To major Atherton for keeping courts amongst the Indians and instructing them                                          | 15 00 00 |
| To the Gouvernors of Plymouth Connecticott and Newhauen to distribute amongst well deserueing Indians 5lb a peece      | 15 00 00 |
| To Thomas Staunton for his sons maintenance according to former agreement                                              | 25 00 00 |

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The totall is 733 08 01

It is proper, however, to add, that besides the monies remitted from England for the propagation of Christianity among the Indians, considerable sums were raised in the colonies for promoting this important object.—*Hazard's Hist. Coll.* vol. ii. p. 442, 459, 495, 508.—*Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. i. p. 213.



were in a state of intoxication, they were justly apprehensive, that should Christianity prevail among them, they would be able to make gain of them no longer. They, therefore, told them, that the religion which Mr. Sergeant taught them was not a good religion ; that the friendship he professed for them was merely pretended ; and that his design was to make slaves of them and their children. By these, and similar insinuations, they so prejudiced the minds of the Indians, that many of them were greatly incensed against him. By his friendly behaviour and prudent representations, he succeeded, however, in allaying their resentment, conciliating their affections, and regaining their confidence. <sup>b</sup>

But it was not long before there arose a new source of uneasiness. Among the Indians, it is customary not to conclude any affair of importance, without consulting the several branches of the nation ; but as the Indians of Housatunnuk had accepted of a missionary without the consent of their brethren, they were now apprehensive lest their conduct should be condemned at the general meeting of the tribe, which was soon to take place, especially as it was reported that the Indians of Hudson's River were highly incensed against them on this account ; and that there was even a design on foot to poison their two principal men. Happily, however, when the assembly met, they were so far from condemning the measure, that they expressed themselves thankful on account of it, and even gave

<sup>b</sup> Hopkin's Memoirs, p. 15.



some ground to hope, that the whole nation would submit to religious instruction.

This meeting, however, was concluded with a frolic and a drinking match, agreeably to the custom of the Indians. Their dancing, on these occasions, is not only a laborious, but a dangerous exercise; and it is a striking proof of the power of habit over the human frame, that it is not more frequently followed by fatal consequences. They dance round a large fire, till they are nearly ready to faint, and are completely drenched with sweat. They then run out of the house, strip themselves naked, expose their warm bodies to the cold air; or if there be snow on the ground, roll themselves in it, till they are perfectly cooled. They then return to the dance; and when they are again hot and tired, cool themselves in a similar manner. This operation they repeat, probably, four or five times in the course of the night, concluding the whole with excessive drinking; and when they are drunk, they often fall asleep in the open air, perhaps buried in snow.

Soon after this meeting, several of the Indians were taken ill, and two of them died suddenly of a violent fever. Easy as it was to account for their death from natural causes, especially as, at the time of their dance, the weather was extremely cold, and there was a deep snow on the ground, the savages were persuaded it was the effect of poison, and resolved to apply to the invisible powers for the discovery of the murderers. Mr. Sergeant was then absent; but Mr. Woodbridge, his assistant in the Indian school, having heard of their design, rode to the place of their meeting.



On his arrival, he found upwards of forty of the Indians assembled in the wigwam of one of the chiefs. The house was swept clean, large fires were kindled, and they were sitting round them from one end of the hut to the other; only in one quarter, a space of about five or six feet was left for the powaws or conjurers. Each of the Indians had two sticks, about a foot and a half long, one of them split at the end, which he held under his legs. When Mr. Woodbridge arrived, they were all prepared for the exercise; but had not as yet begun it. He asked them, whether they would allow him to be present at the ceremony; but before they returned him an answer, the oldest priest lifted up his eyes to heaven, and spoke with great earnestness, after which they told him he might remain. They then began to sing and rap with their sticks, and in the meanwhile, the eldest powaw was sitting, and talking and acting a different part from all the rest. This lasted about an hour. The priest then rose from his seat, threw off all his clothes, except a flap about his middle, and in this naked state passed from one end of the hut to the other, with his eyes closed, to appearance in exquisite agony, and employing the most frightful and distorted gestures, it is almost possible to imagine. This continued about another hour. The first powaw being exhausted, at length retired; a second then rose and acted the same part; afterwards a third, and finally, a fourth. In this manner, they spent the whole night, except a few short intervals, during which, they either smoked a pipe, or they all rose up in a body and danced. They did not appear, however, to gain their object; and on Mr. Woodbridge



representing to them the folly and criminality of such a mode of worship, they promised never again to have recourse to it, and some of them even seemed extremely sorry for the step they had taken. <sup>c</sup>

In the course of a short time, Mr. Sergeant's hearers greatly increased in number: many of them appeared to be seriously impressed with religion; and within a few months, he had the pleasure of baptizing upwards of fifty of them, among whom were the two principal men with their wives and children. Most of them appeared anxious to obtain religious instruction; a remarkable reformation of manners ensued among them; and vice, especially drunkenness, the sin to which, of all others, they were most addicted, seemed for the present nearly banished from among them. They themselves were surprised at the change; and expressed the difference between their former and their present state, by the terms infancy and manhood, dreaming and waking, darkness and light, and other similar metaphors. <sup>d</sup>

Even at an early period of his labours, Mr. Sergeant had perceived, that the plan he was at first obliged to adopt of preaching to the Indians through the medium of an interpreter, would answer his purpose in a very imperfect degree, being not only a slow, but a very uncertain method of communicating instruction. He was himself unable to judge of the accuracy of what was delivered to them, and had even reason to fear, that the truths he endeavoured to teach them were conveyed to their minds in a

<sup>c</sup> Hopkin's Memoirs, p. 21.

<sup>d</sup> Hopkin's Memoirs, p. 10, 28, 34, 42, 54.



very inadequate manner; for the best interpreter he could then find, possessed but an imperfect knowledge of the principles of religion, as well as of the English terms by which they were expressed. Influenced by these considerations, he had early engaged in the study of the Indian language, and prosecuted it with the utmost assiduity. It was extremely difficult to learn, being entirely different from every other language with which he was acquainted. He even thought it a more arduous task, than to acquire all the learned languages usually taught in the schools. After about three years' study, however, he attained so much knowledge of it, as to be able to pray with his people in their own tongue, and even to preach in it with some little assistance from his interpreter. He at length, became so great a master of it, that the Indians used to say: "Our minister speaks our language better than we do ourselves." <sup>c</sup>

With the assistance of his interpreter, Mr. Sergeant translated some prayers into the Indian language for the use of his people, and Dr. Watts' First Catechism, for the instruction of the children. Besides these small pieces, he afterwards translated a great part of the Bible into their language; namely, such portions of the Old Testament as appeared most useful and necessary, as the history of the creation, of the fall of man, of the call of Abraham, of the conduct of Providence to the patriarchs and the children of Israel, the prophecies concerning the coming of Christ; and the whole of the New Testament, unless we are to except the book of

<sup>c</sup> Hopkin's Memoirs, p. 59, 154.



Revelation, which we are uncertain whether he ever finished. <sup>f</sup>

Pleasing as were Mr. Sergeant's prospects soon after the commencement of his labours, he afterwards met with no small trials from the Indians, as well as from other quarters. The Dutch traders in the neighbourhood, though they had failed in fomenting the jealousy of the savages, never relaxed in their endeavours to corrupt them with rum; and though the Indians passed strong resolutions against drinking, and even kept them for a considerable time, yet some of them unhappily relapsed into that and other vices, even after they appeared to be completely weaned from them. One of the chiefs, who had been peculiarly zealous against drunkenness, and seemed firmly established in the ways of godliness, conducted himself for a year or two in a very disorderly manner, was frequently intoxicated, and in other respects extremely troublesome. Afterwards, indeed, he was reclaimed from his apostasy, acknowledged his guilt, was restored to the communion of the church, and walked like a Christian till the day of his death. The concern of Mr. Sergeant on account of these painful occurrences, it is more easy to conceive than describe. Nothing, he said, affected him with such pungent grief, his own sins excepted, as the disorderly and wicked conduct of his poor people. Many were the days he spent on this account in fasting and prayer; many the tears he shed; sleep departed from his eyes, and he forgot to eat his bread. <sup>g</sup>

<sup>f</sup> Hopkin's Memoirs, p. 59, 156.

<sup>g</sup> Hopkin's Memoirs, p. 159.



But while Mr. Sergeant's expectations were often miserably blasted with regard to the elder Indians, he still cherished the hope of better success among the children. The Rev. Mr. Hollis, a Baptist minister near London, having generously offered to be at the expense of educating and supporting twelve Indian boys, he had accepted the proposal with joy, and was now anxious to extend the plan, by establishing a charity school for a still greater number of youth, in which they should be taught not only to read and write, but also the more common arts of life. Experience had convinced him, that the habits and opinions of the Indians were a powerful impediment to the progress of Christianity, as well as of civilization among them. Extensive success could scarcely be expected, among a people who thought it a disgrace to follow any employment except hunting or war, while the men, at other times, indulged in absolute indolence and inactivity, and the women were obliged to perform all the manual labour, as gathering wood, planting, hoeing, yet never learned the common arts of housewifery. Mr. Sergeant's plan, therefore, was to take their children when young, to train them from their early years to habits of industry, and to instruct both sexes in such employments as were suitable to the station they ought to occupy in society. By this means he hoped they would not only be enabled to provide more comfortably for themselves and their families, but would be preserved from the numerous and powerful temptations to which they were exposed by their present mode of living. He was apprehensive, indeed, that the prejudices of the Indians



would prove a strong, if not even an insuperable, obstruction to the execution of his plan; but their aversion to it by degrees unexpectedly vanished.<sup>b</sup>

In 1743, Mr. Sergeant circulated a more particular detail of his plan; and certainly it reflects great credit on the comprehensiveness of his understanding, as well as on the benevolence of his heart. He proposed to procure about two hundred acres of land in that quarter of the country; to erect upon it a building large enough to contain a number of young persons, not under ten, nor above twenty years of age; to place these youth under the care of two masters, one to take the oversight of them in their hours of labour, the other in their hours of study; and to have the day divided in such a manner between these employments, as to render the one a recreation from the other, that so as little time as possible might be lost in idleness. In the school, he proposed that they should not only all be taught to read and write, and such other branches of learning as were useful in common life; but that some, at least, should be prepared to receive an academical education, with the view of being at length employed in spreading the gospel among the more distant tribes. He also proposed, that the produce of their labour should be appropriated to their maintenance, and to the general purposes of the institution; that, with the view of lessening the expense, all kinds of provisions should be raised, and a stock of cattle, sheep, hogs, and other animals, kept on the farm; and that, if they could be afforded, premiums should occa-

<sup>b</sup> Hopkin's Memoirs, p. 55, 63, 83, 95.



sionally be distributed among the youth, as a reward and as an incitement to industry. If this plan succeeded, he proposed to extend the establishment so as to take in girls as well as boys; for he was fully sensible of the vast importance of the female sex in society, of the power they possess over the men, and of the influence they have in forming the character of their children. He therefore designed that they should receive an education suited to their situation and circumstances, that they should be placed under the care of a skilful matron, who should instruct them in housewifery, and that they should be employed in manufacturing the wool, flax, milk, and other articles raised on the farm. By cultivating both the sexes, he thought they would have a natural and reciprocal influence in further improving each other. In this manner, he hoped, that after some time, they would, in a great measure, support the institution by their own labour, that they would be formed to habits of industry from their early years, acquire the English language, learn our manners, and when arrived at a suitable age, be able to manage farms of their own.<sup>i</sup>

Such is a sketch of Mr. Sergeant's excellent plan for the conversion and civilization of the Indians. With the view of carrying it into execution, a subscription was begun in England, and met with considerable encouragement from the friends of religion, and even from some members of the royal family: \* but the whole sum raised

<sup>i</sup> Hopkin's Memoirs, p. 97, 139, 141.

\* The Prince of Wales was applied to through the medium



was by no means adequate to carry Mr. Sergeant's plan into execution, even on the smallest scale. Thus to his inexpressible grief, he again beheld his fond hopes terminate in disappointment. \*

Mr. Hollis, however, with singular generosity, requested Mr. Sergeant to take other twelve boys from nine to twelve years of age, and engaged to be at the whole expense of their education and support. \* But war having soon after broke out with France, and Stockbridge, as the Indian settlement was now called, being much exposed to the depredations of the enemy, it was deemed expedient to defer the execution of this proposal till the return of peace. In consequence, however, of the warm remonstrances of Mr. Hollis, † Mr. Ser-

\* Hopkin's Memoirs, p. 113, 117, 122.  
of the Rev. Dr. Ayscough, Clerk of the Closet, and First Chaplain to his Royal Highness. When that gentleman was informed that Mr. Sergeant was not a minister of the Church of England, but a Dissenter, he replied, "What though he be a Dissenter? He is a good man; that is every thing. It is time such distinctions were laid aside, and the partition wall thrown down, that so Christians may love one another. For his part, he loved all good men alike, whether they were Churchmen or Dissenters." Dr. Ayscough, accordingly, continued to the last a distinguished friend of Mr. Sergeant, and of the school among the Indians.—*Hopkin's Mem.* p. 119, 122, 140, 146.

\* Mr. Hollis afterwards increased the number to thirty-six, for each of whom he allowed five Pounds a year.

† On being informed of these circumstances, Mr. Hollis wrote Dr. Coleman of Boston, insisting that his proposal should be carried into effect without further delay. "If my money," says he, "lie unemployed till the conclusion of the war, it may be a long time indeed. Do you see the least prospect in the world of it? Would you not wish to behold the Redeemer's work carried on while you live? I am not



geant, notwithstanding the war with France, prepared to carry into execution, on a small scale, the plan, which for some years had lain so near his heart. With this view he obtained from the Indians at Stockbridge, about two hundred acres as a situation for the building, and as a plantation to be cultivated by the children. Here he erected a house, containing a number of apartments adapted to the purpose for which it was designed, and removed to it some Indian boys, whom on account of the war, he had previously committed to the care of a gentleman in Connecticut. But while he was pleasing himself with the hope of beholding the consummation of his favourite plan, the establishment of an Indian charity school, a period was unexpectedly put to his valuable life.<sup>1</sup>

In July 1749, this excellent man died after an illness of about four weeks, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his labours as a

<sup>1</sup> Hopkins' Mem. p. 114, 131, 133, 143.

willing to have my money of £350 your currency, lying useless till the war is ended." In a subsequent letter, he says, "I request that the £300 of my money in your hands may be employed in the education of twelve new boys, of heathen parents, with all convenient speed. Yea, I absolutely insist upon it, and promise hereby to make a remittance for further charge of education and maintenance, my estate being very much increased of late, as I have had a great deal left me by a relation deceased. As to the war with France, let not that hinder it. I request it may be done speedily, if there are Indian parents willing to have their children educated." Such was the zeal of Mr. Hollis in this good work. How few are so anxious to have their money expended in promoting the glory of Christ, and the salvation of souls! *Hopkins' Mem.* p. 131.



missionary. By the Indians he was greatly beloved, as was evident from the deep concern they manifested for his recovery, and from the tears they shed, not only at his death, but long after, whenever they visited his house. His success among them, though not equal to the desires of his benevolent heart, was by no means inconsiderable. When he first visited them, their whole number, including old and young, was under fifty; they lived in miserable huts, were scattered over the country, and often moving from place to place, and were all sunk in the depths of heathen ignorance and barbarity. When he died, they amounted to two hundred and eighteen, were collected together into a town, and, instead of bark wigwams, possessed twenty houses built in the English style. In the course of his labours, he baptized one hundred and eighty-two of the Indians: of whom, a hundred and twenty-nine were still alive, and resided at Stockbridge; and forty-two were communicants. In the town there were also twelve or thirteen English families, who were encouraged to take up their residence in it, with the view of promoting, by their example, the arts of industry among the Indians.<sup>m</sup>

In August 1751, the Rev. Jonathan Edwards of Northampton, was settled at Stockbridge in the room of Mr. Sergeant. For several years past, some unhappy differences had subsisted between him and his congregation, in consequence of his faithfulness and zeal in checking the progress of immorality among the young people of his con-

<sup>m</sup> Hopkins' Memoirs, p. 143, 147.



gregation, and in exercising greater strictness of discipline in the admission of church members. The opposition which his people raised to these measures was so unchristian and so violent, that in an ecclesiastical council called for the purpose of examining into the state of the affair, it was deemed expedient to dissolve Mr. Edwards' connexion with them. He still occasionally preached to them when they had no other supply; but this gave so great umbrage to many of them, that they carried on some kind of worship among themselves, rather than invite him to occupy the pulpit. Such was the conduct of a Christian congregation to this illustrious man:—a man who, for talents and learning, for judgment and piety, for faithfulness and zeal, has had few equals in the church of Christ.<sup>n</sup>

When Mr. Edwards entered on his labours at Stockbridge, there appeared a fair prospect of his being extensively useful, not only among the Indians of that town, but among the Mohawks, some of whom came thither and brought a number of their own and their neighbours' children with them to be educated in the charity school. Partly, however, through some unhappy differences among those who had the chief management of the Indian affairs at Stockbridge, who, strange to tell, were divided into violent parties, and partly through the war between England and France, this pleasing prospect was unhappily blasted. Though Mr. Edwards performed the duties of his office to the satisfaction of the inhabitants in general, both In-

<sup>n</sup> Edwards' Life and Character, prefixed to Eighteen Select Sermons, p. 62, 86.



dian and English, as well as of the gentlemen who had the superintendence of the mission, yet his labours were attended with no remarkable success. It may be questioned, indeed, whether, with all his talents, and piety, and zeal, he was qualified for being a missionary. His natural bent of mind, his modes of thinking, and his studious habits, but ill accorded with a sphere of life which requires incessant personal activity. °

In January 1758, Mr. Edwards removed from Stockbridge to Princetown to undertake the Presidency of New Jersey College. When the proposal was first made to him, he was struck with the greatest astonishment and concern, for though he was a man of distinguished talents and learning, he was no less remarkable for his modesty and humility. He considered himself as so unqualified for this important station, that he wondered how gentlemen of so much judgment, and so well acquainted with him, as some of the trustees were, should have thought of him for a moment. He did not, however, positively reject the invitation, but agreed to take the advice of some of his friends in the ministry on the subject. By his desire, a number of them met at Stockbridge, and after hearing his representation of the matter, and the objections of his people to his removal, they determined that it was his duty to accept of the presidency of the college. When they made known this opinion to him, Mr. Edwards was uncommonly moved, and burst into tears, a thing very unusual with him, in the presence of others. He soon after said to them, it

° Hopkins' Mem. p. 163.—Edwards' Life, p. 86.—Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. iv. p. 55.



was matter of wonder to him, how they could so easily get over the objections he had made against his removal to be the head of a college: but as he thought it was incumbent on him to be directed by their advice, he should now endeavour cheerfully to undertake the office, believing that he was in the path of his duty. Scarcely, however, had he arrived at Princetown, when it was thought necessary to inoculate him with the small-pox, as he had never had that disorder, and it was then raging in the country. He had the disease in a favourable form, and was even considered as out of all danger; but the secondary fever assumed an alarming aspect, and put a period to his invaluable life, about two months after his removal from Stockbridge. <sup>p</sup>

Mr. Edwards was succeeded at Stockbridge by Mr. Stephen West; but, the unhappy animosities which still subsisted among those who had the superintendence of the mission, rendered his situation so uncomfortable, and so clouded his prospects of usefulness, that he resigned the undertaking, and was succeeded by Mr. John Sergeant, son of the original founder of the settlement. During the American war, the Indians suffered materially, both in their temporal and spiritual interests, by serving a few campaigns in the army of the United States. A large proportion of their most promising young men were killed in battle, while the others were confirmed in their habits of idleness and intemperance. One of the parties among the managers of the mission, had, for many years, wished to remove them from their old territory; and soon after

<sup>p</sup> Edwards' Life, p. 88, 93.



the conclusion of the war, they procured their removal to the country of the Oneida Indians, who offered them land on which to settle. Here they built a town, which they called New Stockbridge, about 350 miles from Boston. By the removal of the Indians to this part of the country, they were materially benefited in a temporal point of view. They possessed more territory than before, having a tract of land six miles square; they were, for some time, less exposed to temptations, in consequence of their greater distance from the White people; they made a division of their lands, so that each held his property as his own individual right; and they became more industrious, sober, and comfortable.<sup>a</sup>

In 1812, the Indians at Stockbridge amounted to 475: they had increased considerably of late years, in consequence, partly at least, of a number of their brethren having come thither from other parts of the country. Most, if not all of them, were professed Christians; but, only a small proportion of them were members of the church. They had not, however, made those improvements in the arts of life which might have been expected, considering the advantages they had enjoyed, owing chiefly to the vicinity of the White people, and the consequent facility of procuring spirituous liquors. Husbandry was the principal art in which they had made any progress. They had improved about 1200 acres of land, and they raised the preceding season, about 500 bushels

<sup>a</sup> Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 195; vol. iv. p. 55; vol. v. p. 26; vol. vi. p. 69.—Evan. Mag. vol. xvii. p. 183.—Fraser's Sermon before the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, App. p. 46.



of wheat, 2000 bushels of Indian corn, together with plenty of potatoes, beans, and other vegetables. They possessed 26 horses, 20 pair of oxen, 54 cows, 44 young cattle, 56 sheep, and about 50 swine: they had also, one grist-mill for grinding corn, and two saw-mills. A spinning school was established for the women, many of whom, made great progress in that useful branch of industry. For several of these improvements, they were much indebted to the Quakers, who, of late years, have made some very laudable attempts for promoting the civilization of the Indians in different parts of North America.<sup>r</sup>

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#### SECTION V.

##### NEW JERSEY.

WE now come to the history of a mission which exhibited a singular display of the power of divine grace among the Indians; and which has justly commanded the admiration of the Christian world, on account of the faith and the patience, the zeal, the self-denial, the elevated piety displayed in the conduct of it, as well as by the extraordinary success with which it was attended.

In April 1743, Mr. David Brainerd, a young man of distinguished piety, entered on his labours as a missionary among the Indians, under the patronage of the Society in Scotland for propagating Chris-

<sup>r</sup> Account of Measures pursued by the Friends of New York for the Civilization of the Indians, p. 10, 14.—Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. v. p. 13, 16, 22.—Relig. Mon. vol. i. p. 189.



tian Knowledge, at a place called Kanaumeeek, about twenty miles from Albany, in the province of New York. The situation was extremely lonely: it was in the midst of a wilderness, surrounded by woods and mountains, about twenty miles from the nearest English inhabitant. Here he lodged with a family who had lately come from the Highlands of Scotland, sleeping on a bundle of straw, and living on the coarsest fare; while almost the only language he heard was Gaelic or Indian, neither of which he understood. As he was naturally of a melancholy temper, the dreariness of the country, the solitariness of the place, and the uncomfortableness of his circumstances, contributed not a little to foster that unhappy disposition of mind. After he had been about three months in this quarter, he drew the following gloomy picture of his views and feelings: “ My soul has for a long time past been in a truly pitiable condition. Sometimes I have been so overwhelmed with a sense of my insignificance and unworthiness, that I have been ashamed, that any, not excepting the meanest of my fellow creatures, should so much as spend a thought about me: Sometimes when travelling among the thick brakes, I have wished, that, like them, I might drop into everlasting oblivion: Sometimes I have almost resolved never again to see any of my acquaintance, thinking I could not hold up my face before them; and have longed for the remotest corner on earth, as a retreat from all my friends, that I might never be seen or heard of more: Sometimes, the consideration of my ignorance, has occasioned me great anxiety and distress; but my soul has in a particular manner, been full of anguish from fear, and guilt,



and shame, because I had ever preached the gospel, or had any thought of that important work: Sometimes I have been in deep distress, on feeling some particular corruption rise in my breast, and swell like a mighty torrent; while, at the same time, ten thousand sins and follies presented themselves to my view, in all their native blackness and deformity. Such things as these have weighed down my soul, combined as they are with those unfavourable external circumstances, in which I am at present placed:—destitute of most of the conveniences of life, at least of all its pleasures; without a friend to whom I may unbosom my sorrows; and sometimes without a place of retirement, where I may unburden my soul before God.”<sup>a</sup>

The place where Mr. Brainerd lodged being at some distance from the Indians, he found this extremely inconvenient, as it obliged him to travel backward and forward, almost daily, on foot; and notwithstanding his utmost endeavours, he could not be with them in the morning and evening, the seasons when they were most generally at home, and when they were most at liberty to attend to instruction. He, therefore, took up his residence among them, and lodged at first in one of their wigwams, until he succeeded in erecting a small cottage for himself. Here he lived quite alone, and though his situation was far from agreeable, yet it was much more comfortable than before. Scarcely, however, had he removed into his little hut, when he was attacked with such extreme weakness, and such severe pains, that he thought

<sup>a</sup> Brainerd's Life, Edit. 1798. p. 89, 294, 550.



his mortal frame would soon sink into the grave, and mingle with its kindred dust. But though he was so very ill, he was obliged to labour hard from day to day, in order to procure fodder for his horse, while at the same time he was in a great measure destitute of provisions suitable for himself: "I had no bread," says he, "neither could I obtain any. I am forced either to go or send ten or fifteen miles for all the bread I need; and if I get any considerable quantity, it is sometimes sour and mouldy before I have used the whole, and then, perhaps, I have none for some days together. Such is my situation at present; but, through the goodness of God, I had some Indian meal, of which I made little cakes and fried them. Still, however, I felt satisfied with my situation, and sweetly resigned to the will of Heaven. In prayer I enjoyed great freedom; and blessed God as cordially for my present circumstances, as if I had been a king. I thought, indeed, I found a disposition to be contented in any situation."<sup>b</sup>

In labouring among the Indians, Mr. Brainerd studied to instruct them chiefly in those principles of religion which he deemed most important, and most calculated to promote their conversion to the Redeemer, endeavouring, at the same time, to make them level to the comprehension of the weakest and most ignorant of them. The knowledge of Christianity, which some of them acquired, was far from contemptible; and there were even several, on whose consciences the word appeared to make a serious impression. Some of them came to Mr. Brain-

<sup>b</sup> Brainerd's Life, p. 91, 93, 550.



erd of their own accord, to converse with him about the things which belonged to their eternal peace; several inquired, with tears in their eyes, "What they should do to be saved?" He could not, indeed, say that he had satisfactory evidence of the conversion of any of them, but there was a considerable reformation of manners among them. Their idolatrous sacrifices were entirely abolished; their heathenish dances were, in a great degree, abandoned; their habits of drunkenness were, in some measure, corrected; and the observation of the Sabbath was established among them and their children. By his advice, most of them, after he had spent about a year among them, removed to Stockbridge, which was only about twenty miles distant, and placed themselves under the care of the excellent Mr. Sergeant. <sup>c</sup>

In May 1744, Mr. Brainerd, who was now at liberty to pursue his labours among the Indians in some other quarter, proceeded to the Forks of Delaware, in the province of Pennsylvania. Here the number of his hearers was at first extremely small, often not exceeding twenty-five, and even afterwards, they seldom amounted to more than forty. The Indians in this quarter were now greatly diminished, most of them being either dispersed, or removed further back into the country. There were not more than ten houses which continued to be inhabited, and some of these were several miles distant from the others, so that it was very difficult for his little congregation to assemble together as often as he wished. <sup>d</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Brainerd's Life, p. 551.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. 129, 555.



Among these Indians Mr. Brainerd pursued his labours with unwearied diligence and zeal; but, as he was deeply sensible that no human exertions could command success, he combined with his assiduous endeavours the most earnest and affectionate supplications for the Divine blessing upon them. Of his importunity in prayer, we have an interesting example in the exercises of his mind, one day soon after his arrival in this part of the country. "This morning," says he, "I was greatly oppressed with a sense of guilt and shame, from a view of my inward vileness and depravity. About nine o'clock, I withdrew to the woods for prayer, but had not much comfort. I appeared to myself the meanest, vilest creature upon earth: I thought I could scarcely live with myself, and that I should never be able to hold up my face in heaven, if God, of his infinite mercy, should bring me thither. Towards night, the burden of my mind respecting my work among the Indians began to increase, and was much aggravated by hearing several circumstances of a discouraging nature, particularly, that they designed to meet together next day, for an idolatrous feast and dance. My mind was agonized at the prospect. I thought it would be my duty to endeavour to break up the assembly; but how to do it, I knew not. In this dilemma, I withdrew for prayer, hoping for strength from on high. While engaged in this exercise, I was exceedingly enlarged: my soul was as much drawn out as I almost ever remember it to have been in my life. I was in such anguish, and pleaded with so much importunity, that when I rose, I felt so extremely weak that I could scarcely walk;



my joints were loosed; the sweat ran down my body; nature seemed as if ready to dissolve. What I experienced was inexpressible. All earthly things vanished from my sight: Nothing appeared of much importance to me, except progress in holiness, and the conversion of the Heathen to God. All my cares, desires, and fears, which might be considered as of a worldly nature, disappeared, and seemed of little more importance than a breath of wind. I longed exceedingly that God would glorify his name among the Heathen. I appealed to him with the greatest freedom, that he knew I preferred him 'above my chief joy.' Indeed, I had no idea of joy from this world: I cared not where or how I lived, or what hardships I might have to endure, if I might only gain souls to Christ." <sup>e</sup>

Though Mr. Brainerd was now settled at the Forks of Delaware, he by no means confined his labours to the Indians in that part of the country. Having heard of some of these poor people at a place about thirty miles distant, he proceeded to visit them; but as they were then on the point of removing to the river Susquehannah, he had an opportunity of preaching only twice to them. In general, they appeared sober, friendly, and attentive. Two or three of them, indeed, suspected he had some ill design upon them, urging that the White people had maltreated them, and taken their lands from them: it was not reasonable, therefore, to think they were now concerned for their happiness, but rather that they designed to make them slaves, or to carry them on board their ships, and

<sup>e</sup> Brainerd's Life, p. 143.



cause them fight with the people over the water, meaning the French and Spaniards. But notwithstanding these insinuations, most of them appeared to entertain no jealousy of Mr. Brainerd's design, and invited him to visit them after their return home, and to instruct them in the principles of religion.<sup>f</sup>

Encouraged by this invitation, Mr. Brainerd proceeded shortly after to visit these Indians on the Susquehannah, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Byram, a neighbouring minister, his interpreter, and two of his principal people from the Forks of Delaware. After the first day's journey, they had nothing before them but a vast and dreary wilderness. Here they had by far the most difficult and dangerous travelling any of them had ever experienced, having to make their way over lofty mountains, through deep valleys, and among hideous rocks. One evening Mr. Brainerd's horse hung one of its legs in the rocks, and fell under him; but through the kindness of providence he escaped without injury. The poor animal, however, broke its leg; and being in such a dreadful place, near thirty miles from any house, nothing could be done to preserve its life: He was, therefore, obliged to kill it, and to prosecute his journey on foot. At night they kindled a fire, cut up a few bushes, and placed them over their heads as a shelter from the frost; and after commending themselves to God in prayer, they lay down on the ground and slept till morning. On the fourth day, they arrived at an Indian town on the banks of the Susquehannah, called

<sup>f</sup> Brainerd's Life, p. 557.



Opeholhaupung, where were about seventy people, including men, women, and children. Mr. Brainerd remained among them several days, preaching regularly when they were at home, while they, in order to hear him, delayed their general hunting match, which they were just about to begin. Before leaving them, he gave them to understand, that he would visit them again the following spring; a proposal to which they readily assented.<sup>8</sup>

Many were the fatigues, the dangers, and the distresses which Mr. Brainerd experienced in the course of his frequent journeys among the Indians; and no less singular were the faith, the patience, and the self-denial he manifested under trials of this description. One day in travelling from the place of Mr. Byram's residence to the Forks of Delaware, a distance of about forty miles, he lost his way in the wilderness, wandered over rocks and mountains, down hideous declivities, through dreadful swamps, and other places no less dangerous. The night was dark and cold, and, to add to his misfortune, he was troubled with a severe pain in his head, accompanied with sickness at stomach, which rendered every step he took distressing to him. He had little or no expectation for several hours but that he would have to lie out all night in the woods in this melancholy condition. Providentially, however, about nine o'clock, he discovered a house, and was kindly received by the people. Yet distressing as was his situation, no expression of discontent, no murmur of complaint, dropt from his lips. His reflections on this occasion are not

<sup>8</sup> Brainerd's Life, p. 149, 558.



unworthy of an apostle. "Thus," says he, "I have been frequently exposed, and sometimes have lain out the whole night; but hitherto, God has preserved me. Such fatigues and hardships serve to wean me from the earth, and, I trust, will make heaven the sweeter. Formerly, when I have been exposed to cold and rain, I was ready to please myself with the hope of a comfortable lodging, a warm fire, and other external accommodations; but now, through divine grace, such things as these have less place in my heart, and my eye is directed more to God for comfort. In this world, I lay my account with tribulation; it does not now appear strange to me. On meeting with difficulties, I do not flatter myself it will afterwards be better, but rather think how much worse it might be with me; how much greater trials many of God's children have endured; how much greater, perhaps, are yet in reserve for myself. Blessed be God, he makes the prospect of my journey's end a comfort to me under my sharpest trials; and instead of allowing the thought of my dissolution to excite terror or melancholy, he often accompanies it with exquisite joy."<sup>n</sup>

In May 1745, Mr. Brainerd agreeably to his promise, renewed his visit to the Indians on the river Susquehannah, accompanied by his interpreter from the Forks of Delaware. In travelling through the wilderness, he suffered, as usual, excessive fatigues and hardships. After lodging one night in the woods, he was overtaken by a terrible storm, in which he was in danger of losing his life. Having no kind of shelter, and not being able to kindle

<sup>n</sup> Brainerd's Life, p. 156.



a fire on account of the rain, he resolved to prosecute his journey in the hope of finding some place of refuge, without which, he thought it was impossible he could survive the night. But, unfortunately, the horses, both of Mr. Brainerd and of his interpreter, having eaten poison for want of other food, now became so sick, that our travellers could neither ride nor lead them, but were obliged to drive them on before, and to walk themselves on foot. Providentially, however, in the evening, they came to a bark hut, where they took up their lodgings for the night. Having at length reached the Susquehannah, Mr. Brainerd travelled about a hundred miles along that river, visited many of the Indian towns, and preached the gospel to some of different tribes through the medium of interpreters. He was sometimes greatly disheartened by the opposition which they made to Christianity; and sometimes he was much encouraged by the disposition which some of them manifested to hear the word. He spent about a fortnight among the Indians in this part of the country, and suffered considerable hardships, frequently sleeping on the cold ground, and sometimes in the open air. He was at last taken very ill as he was riding in the wilderness, being attacked with an ague, accompanied with violent pains in his head and bowels, and with a great evacuation of blood, so that he thought he should have perished by the way. Having reached, however, the hut of an Indian trader, he obtained liberty to stop there; and though without medicine or food proper for one in his situation, he so far recovered, that after about a



week's illness, he was able to resume his journey homeward.<sup>i</sup>

After his return from the Susquehannah, Mr. Brainerd was ready to sink into the depths of despair. As his body was extremely feeble, in consequence of his late illness, so his hopes of the conversion of the Indians were scarcely ever so low. He even began to entertain serious thoughts of relinquishing the undertaking, not that he was weary of the toils and trials of a missionary life, nor because he had freedom in his own mind to settle among the White people, but simply on account of the little hope he had of success among the Indians. But as the night is darkest before the dawn, so it was from the midst of this thick cloud that the prospect began to brighten around him. Having heard of a number of Indians at a place called Crosweeksung, in New Jersey, about eighty miles from the Forks of Delaware, he proceeded to visit them; but, on his arrival, he found them scattered in small settlements, at a considerable distance from each other, and not more than two or three families residing in the same place. He preached, however, to the few he found, consisting only of four women and some children. So inconsiderable was the congregation, and so inauspicious the spot which was soon to be the scene of a most remarkable work of divine grace. After hearing Mr. Brainerd, these poor people set off and travelled ten or fifteen miles to give notice to their friends that a minister had arrived among them, by which means their little company was in a few

<sup>i</sup> Brainerd's Life, p. 177.



days increased to between forty and fifty, including both old and young. No objections, no cavilling, no murmur of opposition was heard among them, though in time past they had manifested as strong a dislike to the gospel as any Indians whatever, and even lately several of them had been much enraged at his interpreter for telling them something about Christianity. Now, however, they were extremely anxious to obtain instruction; they asked Mr. Brainerd to preach to them twice a day, that so they might learn as much as possible during his stay; and they appeared to listen to his discourses with the utmost seriousness and attention. This favourable disposition in these Indians he attributed to the exertions of one or two of their own people, who having heard him some time before, at the Forks of Delaware, had on their return endeavoured to shew their friends the evil of idolatry, and of other practices common among them: a circumstance which may afford the Christian missionary some consolation under the severest of all his trials, the want of success; for though no success should, for a season, crown his labours in his own neighbourhood, yet, perhaps, some who have heard the gospel from his lips, may, in the meanwhile, be instrumental in preparing the way for its introduction even among distant tribes.<sup>k</sup>

After spending about a fortnight at Crosweek-sung, Mr. Brainerd returned to the Forks of Delaware, and from this period these two places were alternately the principal scene of his labours. Soon after his arrival, he had the pleasure of baptizing

<sup>k</sup> Brainerd's Life, p. 180, 363, 405.



his interpreter, together with his wife, the first of the Indians whom he received into the bosom of the church. When Mr. Brainerd first employed him as his interpreter, he was in some respects well qualified for the office, as he was not only acquainted with the Indian and the English languages, but had a strong desire that his countrymen should abandon their heathenish notions and practices, and should adopt the manners and customs of the White people, particularly as to their mode of living. But he had little or no impression of religion on his mind, and on this account was very unfit for his work, being incapable of communicating to others many truths of the first importance, for want of an experimental, as well as a more doctrinal knowledge of the gospel. Now, however, there was a material improvement in his performances as interpreter. Though it might naturally be supposed, that a discourse, in passing to the audience, through the medium of a second person, would lose much of its force and meaning, yet Mr. Brainerd's sermons did not ordinarily lose any thing of their original energy, unless it was sometimes owing to the want of suitable expressions in the Indian language, a defect which his own knowledge of it could not have supplied. His interpreter addressed the Indians with admirable fervency; he scarce knew when to give over; and sometimes when Mr. Brainerd had concluded his discourse, and was returning home, he would stay behind to repeat and enforce what had been spoken; nor did this appear to arise from spiritual pride, or from an affectation of being a public teacher; but from a spirit of faithfulness, and an honest concern for their souls. As



his indifference to religion was formerly a source of great distress to Mr. Brainerd, so now his zeal for the salvation of his countrymen was no small comfort to him.<sup>1</sup>

On visiting the Indians at Crosweeksung, a second time, Mr. Brainerd was happy to find them not only still favourably disposed toward Christianity, but a number of them under serious concern for their souls, their convictions of their sinfulness and misery having been much promoted by the labours of the Rev. William Tennant, to whom he had advised them to make application. Scarcely had he returned among them, when these impressions increased and spread in a surprising manner. In two or three days, the inquiry was general among them, "What they should do to be saved." Such was their sensibility of heart, that a few words concerning their souls would make the tears flow in streams down their cheeks; in their public assemblies, a dry eye was often scarcely to be seen; it was astonishing how they were melted with the love of the Redeemer, and with the invitations of the gospel, when not a word of terror was spoken to them.<sup>m</sup>

It must not, however, be supposed that Mr. Brainerd neglected to instruct the Indians concerning their sinfulness and misery: this he at first inculcated in almost every discourse, as he knew well, that no sinner will come to the Saviour unless he feel his need of him. Still, however, the awakening among the Indians was not produced by the terrors of the law; but by the grace of the gospel.

<sup>1</sup> Brainerd's Life, p. 367, 407, 510.      <sup>m</sup> Ibid. p. 373.



Christ crucified was the grand theme of his preaching: this was the point in which all his sermons centred. It was often matter of wonder to himself, that whatever was the subject of discourse, he was naturally led, after having explained it, to speak of Christ Jesus, and of its relation to him. If he treated of the existence and attributes of God, he took occasion to represent Christ as the only way to the Father. If he illustrated the sinfulness and misery of man, he proceeded to shew the need we had of Christ, to atone for our guilt, and to save us from everlasting woe. If he discoursed of the law of God, he did not forget to recommend Christ as "the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth." Sometimes when he designed to say only a few words on a subject, he was insensibly led by the view of its connexion with Christ, to speak of his incarnation or satisfaction, of his qualifications as a Saviour, or of the gracious invitations which he addresses to sinners, to "come to him, and take of the water of life freely." The awakening, in short, was always most remarkable when he discoursed of the condescension and love of a dying Redeemer; of the ample provision he has made for the salvation of man, and of the free offers of mercy, which he makes to guilty miserable creatures.<sup>n</sup>

This was strikingly displayed one day, when Mr. Brainerd, in preaching on the parable of the Great Supper, exhibited to the Indians, with uncommon fervour and freedom, the unsearchable riches of divine grace. During the sermon a deep

<sup>n</sup> Brainerd's Life, p. 408, 472.



concern was visible among them, and afterwards, when he was speaking with such individuals as were under concern about their souls, the Spirit of God appeared to descend on the whole assembly, and, with astonishing energy, overpowered all opposition, like a mighty torrent which, with irresistible force, sweeps before it whatever comes in its way. Almost the whole congregation, the old, the middle-aged, and the young, were overwhelmed with its influence. Even the most stubborn hearts were made to bow. One of the principal Indians, who previously had felt secure in the armour of self-righteousness, because he possessed more knowledge than most of his countrymen, and who, only the day before, had asserted, with the utmost assurance, that he had been a Christian for upwards of ten years, was now impressed with deep concern on account of his sinful miserable state; his tears flowed in streams down his cheeks; his self-confidence vanished like a vision of the night. There was also a young woman who was so thoughtless and ignorant, that she seemed scarcely to know she had a soul, but who having heard of something strange among the Indians, came to see what was the matter. As she called at Mr. Brainerd's lodgings by the way, he informed her of his design to preach immediately, at which she laughed and seemed to mock. She came, however, to hear him, and before he had concluded his discourse, not only felt she had a soul, but was so impressed with her sinfulness and misery, that she seemed like one pierced through with a dart; she could neither walk, nor sit, nor stand, without being supported. When public worship was over, she lay prostrate on the



ground, praying in the most fervent manner, and neither took notice of others, nor returned them any answer when they spoke to her. The burden of her cry was, "Have mercy on me, O God, and help me to give thee my heart." In this manner she continued most importunate in supplication for several hours together; thus she who came to mock returned to pray.

The whole assembly, indeed, appeared as it were transfixed to the heart with concern for their souls. Almost all of them were crying for mercy, either within or without the house. So overwhelmed were they with a sense of sin, so absorbed in serious reflection, that none appeared to observe another; but each prayed as freely, and, probably, in his own apprehension, as secretly, as if he had been in the midst of a desert, far removed from every human eye. Such as had been awakened for some time, it was observed, complained chiefly of the corruption of their heart; those who were newly impressed, of the wickedness of their life. It is also worthy of notice, that they who had lately obtained relief, appeared, on this occasion, calm and composed, rejoicing in Christ Jesus as their God and Saviour. Some of them took their weeping friends by the hand, telling them of the love of Christ, and of the comfort which is enjoyed in him; and on this ground invited them to come and give him their hearts. The whole scene, in short, presented a striking and interesting illustration of that prediction of the prophet Zechariah, "I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications; and they shall look on me whom they have



pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his first born. And the land shall mourn, every family apart; and their wives apart."

This was not merely a transient scene, but lasted, in a greater or less degree, for a considerable time. Every sermon seemed now productive of good; some were newly awakened, some further impressed, or some comforted. No sooner did any come from remote places, than they were seized with concern about their souls. It was common for strangers, before they had remained a day, to be convinced of their sinfulness and misery, and to inquire, with the utmost solicitude, "What they should do to be saved." Others, who previously had experienced only some slight emotion of their passions, were now wounded to the heart; their tears and sighs and groans, bore witness to the inward anguish of their souls. On the other hand, such as had obtained comfort, appeared humble, serious, and devout, endowed with remarkable tenderness of conscience, and concerned to regulate their life by the laws of Christ. Observing a woman one morning very sorrowful, Mr. Brainerd inquired into the cause of her grief, and found she had been angry with her child the evening before, and was now afraid, lest her anger had been immoderate and sinful. This had so vexed her, that she awoke before daylight, and continued weeping for several hours. A man, who some time before had put away his wife, and taken another woman, a practice common among the Indians, was now much concerned about this circumstance in particular, being fully



convinced of the evil of his conduct, and anxious to know what was his duty. Inquiry being made into the cause of his leaving his wife, it appeared she had given him no just occasion to desert her; and, as it was found that she was willing to forgive his past misconduct, and to live peaceably with him in future, he was told it was his indispensable duty to renounce the woman he had last taken, and to receive back the other, who was properly his wife, and to cleave to her alone as long as she lived. With this advice he readily complied, a striking proof of the power of religion on his mind; for it is likely, a few weeks before, the whole world would not have induced him to conform to the law of Christianity on the subject of marriage. Mr. Brainerd was apprehensive, lest this decision should prejudice some of the Indians against the gospel, when they saw the strictness it enjoined, and the sacrifices it demanded; but so far was it from having any bad effect in this respect, that most of them acknowledged the wisdom and excellence of the regulation. °

As there was now a considerable number of the Indians, who gave satisfactory evidence of the sincerity of their conversion, Mr. Brainerd, after explaining to them the nature of baptism, administered that ordinance to twenty-five of them in one day, namely, fifteen adults, and ten children, in the presence of a large congregation of White people. After the crowd of spectators had retired, he called the baptized together, and discoursed to them in particular. He warned them of the evil and danger of indifference in religion, after making so

° Brainerd's Life, p. 376, 405.



public a profession of it; he reminded them of the solemn obligations under which they had come, to live devoted to God; he gave them some directions respecting their conduct in life; encouraged them to watchfulness, steadfastness, and devotion; and set before them the comfort on earth, and the glory in heaven, which await the faithful followers of the Lamb. To all of them, this was a most interesting and delightful season. The baptized Indians appeared to rejoice in the solemn dedication they had that day made of themselves to the service of God; love reigned among them, and displayed itself in the most simple unaffected manner. Several of the other Indians, when they saw and heard these things, were much affected, weeping most bitterly, and longing to be partakers of that comfort and happiness, which their Christian countrymen appeared to enjoy.

On the following day, Mr. Brainerd, after discoursing some time to the Indians, addressed himself to those in particular, who hoped they were partakers of divine grace, representing to them the happiness which Christ confers on his people on earth, and the glory he prepares for them in heaven. Scarcely had he begun to speak in this strain, when the Christian Indians appeared to dissolve in love to the Redeemer, mingled with desire after the full enjoyment of Him, and of a state of perfect holiness of heart and life. They wept abundantly, yet joyfully. Their tears, and sobs, and sighs, were accompanied with inward peace and comfort; a circumstance which seemed to manifest, that the whole was the effect of a spirit of adoption, not of that spirit of bondage, under which many of them



had so lately groaned. The sacred influence spread over the whole assembly, which now consisted of nearly one hundred Indians, including both old and young, almost all of whom were either animated with joy in Christ Jesus, or impressed with concern for an interest in Him.

Having now been nearly a month in this quarter, Mr. Brainerd proposed undertaking a new journey to the Susquehannah, as this was the best season of the year for finding the Indians at home. After informing his congregation of his design to leave them for the present, and to go to their countrymen far remote, to preach among them the glad tidings of salvation, he asked them, Whether they would not employ the remainder of the day in prayer for him, that God would crown the attempt with his blessing, and render it effectual for the conversion of their brethren? Having cheerfully agreed to this proposal, they soon after began the exercise, and continued praying the whole night till near the dawn of day, never apprehending it was past their usual bedtime, until having gone out and viewed the heavens, they beheld the morning star a considerable height in the horizon; so earnest and unwearied were they in their devotions.

In his way to the Susquehannah, Mr. Brainerd visited the Forks of Delaware, where he now found the Indians much more impressed with religion, and more deeply affected in hearing the word than before. Some of them had been at Crosweeksung, and had there beheld, and, it was hoped, felt the power of divine truth. In this part of the country, however, there were several Indians who had always



refused to hear Mr. Brainerd preach, and even manifested an inveterate hatred to those who attended his ministry. These now became more violent in their opposition than ever, scoffing at religion, and asking the converts the most insulting questions, as "How often they had cried? Whether they had not cried enough to do the turn?" Thus, the Christian Indians began soon to have "trial of cruel mockings," the uniform reward of serious piety in every age, and in every quarter of the globe.<sup>p</sup>

Leaving the Forks of Delaware, Mr. Brainerd proceeded on his journey to the Susquehannah, directing his course toward an Indian town named Shomokin, about a hundred and twenty miles to the westward. Here, there were upwards of fifty houses, and, it was said, about three hundred inhabitants, though he never saw much above the half of that number. They were reckoned a most worthless, drunken, mischievous race, but yet they received him kindly, listened to the gospel with great attention, and expressed a desire for further instruction. Leaving this place, Mr. Brainerd travelled down the river to Juneauta, an Indian town through which he had passed in his last journey. At that time the inhabitants appeared extremely friendly, and less under the influence of prejudice against Christianity than most of their countrymen, but now they seemed quite rooted in their Pagan notions, and strongly averse to the gospel. They were at this time busy making preparations for celebrating a great idolatrous feast on the following

<sup>p</sup> Brainerd's Life, p. 386.



day. Having provided no fewer than ten fat deer for this purpose, about a hundred of them assembled in the evening, and danced round a large fire which they had previously kindled. During the dance, they threw the fat into the fire, which sometimes raised the flame to a prodigious height, while, at the same time, they yelled and shouted in a most hideous manner. After continuing this exercise nearly the whole night, they devoured the flesh of the animals, and then retired to their huts. Such a scene was extremely distressing to Mr. Brainerd; it pierced him like a dagger to the heart. After walking about till he was almost overwhelmed with grief and fatigue, he crept into a little crib made for corn, laid himself down on the poles, and slept in this situation. As soon as the Indians rose next morning, he attempted to collect them together, with the view of instructing them in the truths of religion; but he soon found they had other business to pursue. About noon, they assembled all their powaws, in order to discover, by their charms and incantations, the cause of the sickness which at that time raged among them, many of them being attacked with flux, attended with fever. In this exercise, they made all the wild, ridiculous, frantic motions it is almost possible to imagine; sometimes singing; sometimes howling; sometimes extending their arms to the utmost, spreading their fingers, and seeming to push with them; sometimes stroking their faces with their hands, then spurting water as fine as mist; sometimes sitting flat on the earth, then bowing their faces to the ground, wringing their sides as if in the utmost anguish, distorting their faces, turning up



their eyes, puffing, grunting, &c. Some of them appeared much more earnest in these exercises than others; they chaunted, peeped, and muttered with such ardour and such energy, as if they were determined to awaken the infernal powers, and extort the secret from them. After continuing these hideous charms and incantations, with some intervals, for upwards of three hours, they were completely exhausted, and broke up the meeting without appearing to have received any satisfaction on the subject of their inquiry.

In this quarter of the country, Mr. Brainerd met with a zealous reformer of the Indian religion, or rather a restorer of what he considered the ancient mode of worship. But of all the spectacles he ever saw, none appeared so horrible, none excited such images of terror in his mind, none corresponded so nearly with the common idea of the infernal powers. He presented himself to Mr. Brainerd in his pontifical garb, consisting of a coat of bearskins hanging down to his toes, a bearskin cap on his head, and a pair of bearskin stockings on his feet; a large wooden face, the one half painted black, the other of a tawny colour like the Indians, with an extravagant mouth, cut extremely awry. In his hand was the instrument he employed for music in his idolatrous worship: it was a tortoise shell with some corn in it, fixed on a piece of wood for a handle. As he came forward he beat to time with his rattle, and danced with all his might; but allowed no part of his body, not even his fingers, to be seen. His appearance and gestures were so unlike all that was human, that when he came near, Mr. Brainerd could not help shrinking back



with horror, though it was then noonday, and he knew perfectly who it was. It appears he had a house consecrated to religion; in it were several images, and the ground was beaten almost as hard as a rock by his frequent and violent dancing. Mr. Brainerd conversed with him about the principles of Christianity; some of them he liked; others he disliked. "God," he said, "had taught him his religion; and he never would relinquish it. He was anxious, however, to find some who would cordially join with him in it, for the Indians were grown very careless and degenerate. He had thoughts, therefore, of leaving all his friends, travelling abroad, and searching for some who would unite with him; for he believed God had some good people in the world, who viewed things in the same light as himself. He had not always felt as he now did: formerly he was like other Indians: but about four or five years before, he became greatly distressed in his mind: he could no longer dwell among his countrymen, but retired into the woods, and lived there alone for several months. At length God comforted his heart, and shewed him what he should do: since that period, he had known God, and endeavoured to serve him; he also loved all men, whoever they were, in a manner he never did before." It further appeared from the accounts of the Indians themselves, that he was a great enemy to their drinking spirituous liquors, and when he could not dissuade them from that ruinous practice, he used to leave them and go, crying into the woods. Some of his sentiments, indeed, were rational and just; Mr. Brainerd even informs us, there was something in his temper and disposition more like true religion



than any thing he ever beheld in a Pagan. He appeared to be sincere, honest, and conscientious in his own way ; and on this account, was derided by his countrymen as a precise zealot, who made a needless noise about religion.<sup>a</sup>

Having again failed in his attempts to introduce Christianity on the Susquehannah, Mr. Brainerd returned to Crosweeksung ; and, on his arrival, was much struck with the vast difference between the Indians in that quarter, and his congregation at this place. To dwell with the one was like being banished from God and all his saints ; to live with the other, like being received into his presence and his family. Yet only a few months before, these were as thoughtless, as barbarous, as averse to Christianity, as those on the Susquehannah ; but now, instead of engaging in idolatrous feasts and drunken revels, they worshipped the God of heaven, received his word, and lived devoted to his glory. Such is the power of divine grace ! Such the transforming influence of the gospel !

On resuming his labours at Crosweeksung, Mr. Brainerd beheld the same powerful and happy effects attend his ministry as before. He was often wonderfully assisted in his public discourses, being enabled to accommodate his sentiments and his expressions to the understanding of the Indians, in such a manner, as he never could have done by the most careful study ; yet he spoke with as much ease and freedom, as if he had been addressing an ordinary congregation, who had been instructed in the principles of Christianity from their early years.

<sup>a</sup> Brainerd's Life, p. 391.



A dry eye was often scarcely to be seen in their assemblies; yet there was no disturbance of the public worship. A deep impression was made on their hearts; but there was no boisterous agitation of their passions. All was powerful and efficacious; yet calm and peaceful. One day, after a sermon on the Transfiguration of Christ, Mr. Brainerd asked a woman whom he observed weeping most affectionately, What she now wanted. To this she replied: "Oh! to be with Christ: She knew not how to stay." On another occasion, when a number of them were assembled in Mr. Brainerd's house, a woman burst forth in prayer and praises to God before them all, with many tears, crying sometimes in English, and sometimes in Indian: O blessed Lord, do come, do come! O do take me away; do let me die and go to Jesus Christ. I am afraid, if I live I shall sin again! O do let me die now; do come! I cannot stay, I cannot stay! O how can I live in this world! do take my soul away from this sinful place! O let me never sin any more! O what shall I do, what shall I do!" In this ecstasy she continued for some time, incessantly uttering these and similar expressions, and employing as her grand argument with God to enforce her prayer, that if she lived, she would sin against him. When she had recovered a little, Mr. Brainerd asked her, If Christ was now sweet to her soul. Turning to him, she replied, with tears in her eyes, and with the deepest tokens of humility: "I have often heard you speak of the goodness and the sweetness of Christ; that he was better than all the world. But, O, I knew nothing of what you meant; I never believed you; I never believed you. But now I know it is



true." Mr. Brainerd then asked her, If she saw enough in Christ for the greatest of sinners. "O, enough, enough!" she replied, "for all the sinners in the world, if they would but come." On hearing something of the glory of heaven, particularly that there was no sin there, she again fell into the same kind of ecstasy, and employed similar expressions as before: "O dear Lord, do let me go! O what shall I do! what shall I do! I want to go to Christ! I cannot live! O do let me die." In this pleasing frame she continued more than two hours, before she was well able to go home.<sup>r</sup>

One day after a sermon on the New Birth, by which a general and deep impression was made on the minds of the Indians, many of them followed Mr. Brainerd to his lodgings, and begged to be further instructed in the way of salvation; but he had not spoken long, when they were so affected with what he said, that the house was filled with their cries and groans. Almost all whom he apprehended to be still in an unconverted state, were seized with concern for their souls; it seemed as if none, whether old or young, would now be left. No pen can describe the interesting scene. Numbers might be seen rejoicing that God had not taken his Holy Spirit from them, and delighted to behold so many of their countrymen "striving to enter in at the strait gate." Others, both men and women, both old and young, might be seen dissolved in tears, some of them so overwhelmed with anguish, that they seemed like malefactors on the way to execution. The whole scene exhibited a striking emblem

<sup>r</sup> Brainerd's Life, p. 399, 417, 443.



of the day of judgment; of heaven and hell; of infinite joy and of inexpressible misery.\*

Here it may not be improper to remark that the concern of the Indians about their souls, was not only very great, but perfectly scriptural and rational. Though some like the jailor, were made to tremble under a sense of their sinfulness; though others were forced to cry out from a view of their perishing condition; though many were for a time, deprived in a great measure of their bodily strength, through the anguish of their minds; yet the awakening among them was singularly free from those disorders, corporeal and mental, which often accompany remarkable revivals of religion. For a considerable time there were no appearance of convulsions, screamings, swoonings; no pretences to visions, trances, revelations; no symptoms of censoriousness, ostentation or spiritual pride; no tendency in short, to any thing like display. Afterwards, indeed, when the awakening became so general, and acquired such universal credit among the Indians, that Satan could have little hope of counteracting it, in the garb of the Spirit of darkness, he transformed himself into an angel of light, and made some vigorous efforts to introduce turbulent commotions of the passions, in the room of genuine convictions of sin, and imaginary notions of Christ appearing to the mental eye in particular forms and postures, instead of spiritual discoveries of his glory and excellence. Some individuals, who had been deeply impressed with divine things, wished on that account to be thought truly con-

\* Brainerd's Life, 427.



verted, and manifested considerable resentment against Mr. Brainerd, when he expressed his doubts and apprehensions about their spiritual state. There were one or two persons whose concern seemed in a great measure affected; and there were one or two more, who discovered an undue disposition to become teachers of others. But though some disagreeable things of this kind made their appearance, they never acquired any footing among the Indians. Mr. Brainerd, than whom few men were ever more free of enthusiasm, was careful to observe the first symptoms of these evils, and to check them in their commencement.

With the view of improving the Indians in Christian knowledge, Mr. Brainerd now began a catechetical exercise among them. Sometimes he examined them on some important point of divinity; sometimes on the discourses he had delivered to them; but most commonly on the Assembly's Shorter Catechism. In these catechetical exercises, he had much satisfaction. It was truly surprising to see how readily and scripturally, the Indians answered the questions proposed to them: their knowledge of the principles of religion was found on trial far more extensive and correct, than could reasonably have been expected. When Mr. Brainerd began this exercise, he was apprehensive it would necessarily prove of so doctrinal a nature, as merely to enlighten the understanding, without impressing the conscience or affecting the heart. But in this he was mistaken, for it was remarkably blessed for promoting their progress in experimental as well as

<sup>t</sup> Brainerd's Life, p. 409, 483.



in theoretical knowledge. The serious attention, the tender affection, the many tears which often appeared at these catechetical meetings, would have been deemed very extraordinary, had not these things been now so common that they ceased to excite surprise.<sup>u</sup>

In February 1746, a school was opened for instructing the Indians in the English language, and other useful acquirements, under the care of an excellent schoolmaster, whom Mr. Brainerd had procured for this purpose. About thirty children immediately entered it, and made such surprising progress, that the teacher remarked, he never had English scholars, who, taking them in general, learned so rapidly. Though some of them were very young, there were not more than two or three who had failed in making themselves master of all the letters of the alphabet within three days after the opening of the school; several in that short time even made some progress in spelling, and in less than five months were able to read the New Testament. Besides the children, there were about fifteen or twenty of the old people, who attended the school at night, when the length of the evenings would admit of it.<sup>v</sup>

Besides attending to the religious and moral improvement of the Indians, Mr. Brainerd was anxious to obtain for them a fixed settlement, and to form them to habits of industry. Many of them having in time past run themselves in debt by their excessive drinking, and several of them having been

<sup>u</sup> Brainerd's Life, p. 421, 427, 432, 448, 452, 494.

<sup>v</sup> Ibid. p. 436, 483.



arrested by the White people on this account, he was apprehensive they might be deprived of a great part of their lands; and being convinced that they could not remain in that quarter of the country, nor maintain the order of a Christian congregation, should their ground be taken from them, he prevailed on the gentlemen who had the superintendence of the mission, to expend a considerable sum of money in discharging the debts of the Indians, and thus averted the danger which threatened them. Having by this means secured their lands to them, he was anxious to excite and to cultivate in them a spirit of industry. By his advice they fixed on a spot at Cranberry, about fifteen miles from the place of their present residence, and proceeded to form a regular settlement upon it. Here they began to clear and to plant their lands; and in little more than a twelvemonth, they had upwards of forty acres of English grain in the ground, and nearly as many of Indian corn. In general they followed their secular occupations as well as could be expected, considering that during the whole of their life, they had been habituated to idleness and sloth. Much of the burden, however, of their temporal affairs devolved on Mr. Brainerd, as they were utterly incapable of arranging and managing them without the constant care and advice of others. <sup>w</sup>

Apprehending that a number of the Indians were now qualified to become partakers of the Lord's Supper, Mr. Brainerd, after instructing them more

<sup>w</sup> Brainerd's Life, p. 434, 450, 452, 461, 482.—Account of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, prefixed to a Sermon by Robert Walker, 1748, p. 74.



particularly in the nature and design of that holy ordinance, resolved to administer it to them. He accordingly appointed a day of fasting and prayer, for the purpose of humbling themselves on account of the partial withdrawment of that spiritual influence which had of late been so prevalent among them, and on account of the appearance of carelessness, vanity, and vice, among some who not long before seemed impressed with a sense of their sinfulness and misery, as well as for imploring the presence and blessing of God in the sacred service which they had in prospect. On the following Sabbath he administered the Lord's Supper to twenty-three of the Indians; and there were several absent, who would otherwise have been admitted along with them. The exercise was attended with great solemnity, with singular devotion, and with a sweet, yet powerful melting of their affections. During the administration of the sacrament, especially in the distribution of the bread, they were affected in so lively a manner, that it seemed as if "Christ Jesus had been set forth crucified among them." Mr. Brainerd afterwards walked from house to house to converse with the communicants; and he was happy to find that almost all of them had been refreshed "as with new wine." Never did he witness such an appearance of Christian love among any people: It was so remarkable, that one might justly have exclaimed, "Behold how these Indians love one another!" Even among the primitive Christians, there could scarcely be greater tokens of mutual affection, than what appeared among these poor people. In the evening, he preached on the design of Christ's death, "that he



might redeem his people from all iniquity." On this occasion, many of the Indians were much refreshed. So delightful was their frame of mind; so full were they of love, and peace, and joy; so ardently did they long to be delivered from the power of sin, that some of them declared, they had never felt the like before. It seemed almost grievous to them to conclude the exercise; and even when it was closed, they appeared loath to leave a place which had been so endeared to them by the sacred services of that day. \*

A few days after the administration of the Lord's supper, Mr. Brainerd baptized a man, who had been a most notorious sinner, a drunkard, a murderer, a conjurer; but who now appeared to be an illustrious trophy of the power and the riches of divine grace. He lived near the Forks of Delaware, and occasionally attended Mr. Brainerd's ministry, but, like many others of the Indians, was nowise reformed by the means of instruction which he enjoyed. About that very time, he murdered a promising young Indian, and he still followed his old trade of conjuration, being held in high reputation among his countrymen. Hence, when Mr. Brainerd told them of the miracles of Christ, and represented these as a proof of his divine mission, and of the truth of his religion, they immediately mentioned the wonders of the same kind which this man had wrought by his magical charms. As he was, in this manner, a powerful obstruction to the progress of the gospel among the Indians, Mr. Brainerd often thought it would be a great mercy if God would

\* Brainerd's Life, p. 455.



remove him out of the world, for he had little or no hope that such a wretch would ever himself be converted; but He, "whose thoughts are not as our thoughts," was pleased to take a more gracious and a more effectual method with him.

Having been impressed, by witnessing the baptism of Mr. Brainerd's interpreter, he followed him to Crosweeksung shortly after, and continued there several weeks, during the season of the most remarkable and powerful awakening of the Indians. He was now brought under deep concern for his soul, and, "upon feeling the word of God in his heart," as he expressed it, his spirit of conjuration entirely left him; from that time, he had no more power of that description than any other man; and he afterwards declared, that he no longer even knew how he used to charm and conjure, and that he could not do any thing of that kind though he were ever so desirous of it. These circumstances we simply state; how they are to be accounted for we do not pretend to explain.

His convictions of his sinfulness and misery became by degrees more deep, and the anguish of his mind was so increased, that he knew not what to do, nor whither to turn. One day he was in such extreme distress, that he trembled for several hours together, and apprehended he was ready to drop into hell, without any power to escape or help himself. Soon after this, indeed, he became quite calm and tranquil, his trembling ceased, his burden vanished; but yet, in his own apprehension, he had little or no hope of mercy. Observing him so remarkably composed, Mr. Brainerd asked him, "How he did?" To this he replied, "It is done,



it is done, it is all done now." On being asked what he meant, he answered, "I can do no more to save myself, it is all done for ever, I can do no more." "But," said Mr. Brainerd, "can you not do a little more, rather than go to hell?" "My heart," he replied, "is dead; I can never help myself." Being asked, if he thought it right that God should send him to hell, he answered, "Yes, it is right. The devil has been in me ever since I was born. My heart has no goodness in it now, but is as bad as ever." Mr. Brainerd says, he scarcely ever saw a person more completely weaned from dependance on his own endeavours for salvation, or lying more humbly at the foot of sovereign mercy, than this poor Indian conjurer.

He continued in this frame of mind for several days, pronouncing sentence of condemnation upon himself and acknowledging the justice of his punishment; yet it was evident he had a secret hope of mercy, though probably it was imperceptible to himself. During this time, he repeatedly inquired at Mr. Brainerd when he would preach again, and seemed desirous of hearing the gospel every day. On being asked why he wished to hear the word, seeing, according to his own account, "his heart was dead, and all was done for ever." He replied, "Notwithstanding that, I love to hear about Christ." "But," said Mr. Brainerd, "what good can that do you if you must go to hell at last?" "I would have others," replied he, "come to Christ, if I must go to hell myself." It is not unworthy of notice, that, at this very time, he appeared to have a great love to the people of God, and nothing affected him so much as the thought of being for



ever separated from them; this seemed a very dreadful ingredient in the hell to which he considered himself as doomed. He was likewise exceedingly diligent in the use of the external means of grace, though he had at the same time the clearest views of their insufficiency to afford him help. "All he did," he would frequently say, "signified nothing;" yet never was he more constant in attending to the ordinances of religion, not excepting even secret and family prayer.

After continuing in this state of mind upwards of a week, he obtained, one day as Mr. Brainerd was preaching, such a lively and delightful view of the excellency of Christ, and of the way of salvation through him, that he burst into tears, and was dissolved in admiration, and gratitude, and praise. From that time he appeared a humble, devout, affectionate Christian; serious and exemplary in his behaviour; often complaining of his barrenness, and his want of spiritual life; yet frequently favoured with the quickening and refreshing influences of the Holy Spirit. In short, he appeared, in all respects, to possess the character and the disposition of one who was "created anew in Christ Jesus unto good works."<sup>y</sup>

Numerous as were the difficulties which Mr. Brainerd had to encounter, and severe as were the hardships he had often to endure, yet so far was he from being weary of the life of a missionary, that now when he had the prospect of settling as the pastor of the Indian flock which he had collected in the wilderness, he looked forward to it with appre-

<sup>y</sup> Brainerd's Life, p. 376, 436, 462.



hension, and considered it as a kind of trial. So ardent, so unabated was his zeal for the conversion of the heathen, that it was still his desire to spend his life in preaching the gospel from place to place, and in gathering souls afar off to the Redeemer. We envy not that man, however distinguished he may be for birth, or talents, or learning, who can read the exercises of his mind on this occasion, without admiration, mingled with self-abasement; they display a disinterestedness, a zeal, a deadness to the world, which perhaps have scarcely a parallel in modern ages. “Having apprehended for several days, that it was the design of Providence I should settle among my people, I had in my own mind begun to make provision for it, and to contrive means for furthering it. My heart was somewhat pleased with the prospect, hoping I might then be in more comfortable circumstances than before; yet I was never fully determined, never quite satisfied with the thought of being confined to one place. Nevertheless, I seemed to have some freedom in that respect, because the congregation I thought of settling with, was one which God had enabled me to gather from amongst Pagans; for never since I began to preach, could I feel any liberty to ‘enter into other men’s labours,’ and settle in the ministry where the gospel was preached before; but God having made me instrumental in gathering a church from among the Indians, I was ready to think it might be his design, to grant me a quiet settlement and a stated home of my own. This, considering the late frequent depression of my spirits, the need I had of some agreeable society, and my great desire of enjoying opportunities of useful study, was not



altogether disagreeable to me; and though I still wished to go about far and wide, spreading the gospel among the benighted Pagans, yet I never had been so willing to settle in any one place for more than five years past as of late. But now this prospect seemed wholly dashed in pieces, not of necessity but of choice; for it appeared to me, that the dispensations of Providence toward me, had fitted me for a life of solitude and hardship; it seemed to me I had nothing to lose, nothing to do with earth, and consequently nothing to sacrifice by a total renunciation of it; it appeared to me quite right, that I should be destitute of house and home, and many comforts of life, which I rejoiced to see others of God's people enjoy. I saw, at the same time, so much of the excellency of Christ's kingdom, and the infinite importance of its extension in the world, that it swallowed up every other consideration, and made me not only willing, but even rejoice, to be a pilgrim or a hermit in the wilderness to my dying moment, if I might by this means promote the interest of the Redeemer. The language of my heart was, 'Here am I, Lord, send me; send me to the ends of the earth; send me to the rough, the savage Pagans of the wilderness; send me from all that is called comfort on earth; send me even to death itself, if it be but in thy service, and to extend thy kingdom.' At the same time, I had as strong and lively a sense of the value of worldly comforts as ever I had, only I saw them infinitely surpassed by the worth of Christ's kingdom, and the propagation of his gospel. The quiet settlement, the certain place of abode, the tender friendship I had the prospect of enjoying, appeared as valuable



to me as ever before, considered absolutely in themselves, but, comparatively, they seemed as nothing, they vanished like the stars before the rising sun. I was constrained, yea chose to say, 'Farewell, friends and earthly comforts, the dearest of them all, the very dearest, if the Lord calls for it. Adieu, adieu! I'll spend my life to my latest breath in caves and dens of the earth, if the kingdom of Christ may thereby be advanced.' Oh! with what reluctance did I find myself obliged to consume time in sleep! I longed to be a flame of fire, continually glowing in the service of God, and extending the kingdom of Christ to my latest, my dying moment."<sup>z</sup>

With Mr. Brainerd, these were not empty professions. Though his constitution was now broken, by the toils and hardships he had endured; though he already harboured in his breast the seeds of a disease which would certainly soon prove fatal; and though his journies to the Susquehannah, had hitherto been attended with little success, yet he shortly after proceeded on a new visit to the Indians in that quarter, accompanied by several of his congregation, whom he judged best qualified to assist him in his labours. In the course of this journey, he suffered not a little from a cough, cold night sweats, and spitting of blood; yet, alarming as were these symptoms, he was often obliged to sleep in the woods. One evening he was so extremely faint, that he was apprehensive that should he lie out in the open air, it would prove fatal to him; and yet as some of his companions were absent, and the

<sup>z</sup> Brainerd's Life, p. 211.



others had not an axe, he had no resource but to climb up a young pine tree, to lop the branches with his knife, and so make some kind of shelter from the dew. Exposed, however, as he was to all the coldness of the night, he perspired so profusely, that his linen was completely drenched with sweat. He was now, indeed, so extremely feeble, that he was scarcely able to ride: sometimes he felt as if he would fall from his horse, and have to lie in the woods. With this remarkable weakness of body, was combined uncommon depression of spirits, which, as it unfitted him for exertion among the Indians, gave rise to the most humbling reflections upon himself. "I was scarcely," says he, "ever more confounded with a sense of my own unfruitfulness and unfitness for my work. Oh, what a dead, heartless, barren, unprofitable wretch, did I now see myself to be! I knew there were numbers of the people of God, who understood I was then travelling on a design, (or at least a pretence), of doing something for God and his cause, among the poor Indians; and that they were ready to suppose I was fervent in spirit; but, Oh, the heartless frame of mind I felt, filled me with confusion. Alas! methought, if they knew me, as God knows me, they would not think so highly of my resolution and zeal, as perhaps they now do. I could not but desire they should see how heartless and irresolute I was, that they might be undeceived, and 'not think of me above what they ought to think;' and yet I thought, if they saw the utmost of my flatness and unfaithfulness, the weakness of my courage and resolution for God, they would be ready to shut me



out of their houses, as unworthy of the company or friendship of Christians." <sup>a</sup>

After being absent upwards of a month, Mr. Brainerd again arrived among his own people, and though very ill, resumed his labours among them, as far as his exhausted strength would permit, often discoursing to them even from his bed. His disorder now rapidly increased, and he was at length obliged to leave them altogether. Being recommended to ride about for his health, the loss of time which this occasioned was a severe trial to him, and often contributed, with other circumstances, to inspire him with the most gloomy reflections. But though he was at first troubled with melancholy, he afterwards became more cheerful, especially as the prospect of death drew near. One evening, when he was attacked with a slight degree of diarrhœa, which he justly considered as a token of the fatal progress of his disorder, he exclaimed: "Oh, the glorious time is now coming! I have longed to serve God perfectly; now he will gratify my desires." As new symptoms of approaching dissolution made their appearance, he became still more animated and cheerful. When he spoke of the period of his death, he used to call it, "that glorious day;" nor was this because he should then be delivered from sorrow and pain, and raised to dignity and honour, for he thought that a comparatively low and ignoble consideration, but because he should then be able to glorify God with a pure and perfect heart. One evening, when he was attempting to walk a little, he thought with himself: "How infinitely sweet is it, to love God,

<sup>a</sup> Brainerd's Life, p. 226.



and to be all for him." Upon which it occurred to him: "You are not an angel, not lively and active." To this, his whole soul instantly replied: "I as sincerely desire to love and glorify God, as any angel in heaven." The same night, he said: "My heaven is to please God, to give all to him, to be wholly devoted to his glory; that is the heaven I long for; that is my religion; that is my happiness, and always was, ever since, I suppose, I had any true religion. I do not go to heaven to get honour, but to give all possible glory and praise. It is no matter where I shall be stationed in heaven, whether I have a high or a low seat there; but to love, and please, and glorify God is all. Had I a thousand souls, if they were worth any thing, I would give them all to him; but I have nothing to give when all is done. My heart goes out to the burying ground; it seems to me a desirable place; but, Oh, to glorify God! that is it, that is above all. It is a great comfort to me to think, that I have done a little for God in the world. Oh! it is but a very small matter; yet I have done a little, and I lament I have not done more for him. There is nothing in the world worth living for, but doing good, living to God, pleasing him, and doing his whole will." <sup>b</sup>

Mr. Brainerd was now daily growing worse; yet ill as he was, he eagerly employed the little strength which still remained, in some attempts to promote the glory of the Redeemer and the salvation of souls. It greatly refreshed him amidst all his bodily sickness and pain, that he was enabled to contribute a

<sup>b</sup> Brainerd's Life, p. 235, 243, 255, 272.



little towards these important objects. Nature, however, was, at length, exhausted. He gradually sunk under the ravages of his disorder, and after a severe struggle, breathed his last, October 9, 1747, in the thirtieth year of his age. <sup>c</sup>

Thus died Mr. David Brainerd, a young man, whose extraordinary worth and piety entitle him to the warmest admiration and respect of the Christian world, and whose memory deserves to be embalmed to the latest generations. He possessed, according to President Edwards, uncommon natural talents; a quick perception; a ready invention; a strong memory; a clear, correct, penetrating judgment; a sound and vigorous understanding; much natural eloquence, and a peculiar facility of communicating his ideas to others. He had an extraordinary knowledge of men, as well as things, and a happy faculty of accommodating himself to the capacities, tempers, and circumstances of those whom he wished to instruct. His gift in prayer was almost inimitable: there was such a propriety in his petitions; such a weight in his expressions; such an appearance of sincerity, reverence, and solemnity in his manner. His learning was very considerable: he excelled in knowledge, in general; but, particularly, in the knowledge of theology. He was truly, for one of his age, an extraordinary divine, especially in all matters relating to experimental religion. Grace in him appears to have been with scarcely any interruption, in sensible and vigorous operation. He was distinguished by the purest and most ardent love to God; by a most abasing impression of his own vile-

<sup>c</sup> Brainerd's Life, p. 258, 270, 285.



ness, particularly of the depravity of his heart; by deep contrition of spirit, on account of his small attainments in piety, and fervent longings after perfection in holiness; by intense desires to promote the glory of God, and the extension of the kingdom of Christ in the world; by singular spirituality of mind, and entire deadness to earthly things; by clear and impressive views of eternity, as if he were actually out of the body, and beheld with his eyes the grand realities of the other world.<sup>d</sup> The principal defect in his character, perhaps, was a disposition to melancholy; but, this no doubt, was much increased by the unfavourable circumstances in which he was placed.

In his labours among the Indians, Mr. Brainerd, as we have seen, was most unwearied, and his success on the whole was considerable. The whole number whom he collected together amounted to about a hundred and fifty, though, when he first visited that part of the country, they did not amount to ten. Of these, near ninety were baptized, about one half of whom were adults, and near forty were communicants. It is proper, however, to observe, that he baptized no adults, but such as gave satisfactory evidence of their sincere conversion to Christ. There were many others of the Indians who possessed considerable knowledge of the principles of Christianity, and manifested deep concern about their souls; but as they appeared to be merely under convictions of their sinfulness and misery, and did not give sufficient evidence of a change of heart, he very properly deferred their baptism.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Edwards' Sermon on the death of Mr. Brainerd, p. 27.

<sup>e</sup> Brainerd's Life, p. 450, 481, 225, 240.



After this excellent man was obliged to leave his Indian flock, he was succeeded in the charge of them by his younger brother, Mr. John Brainerd. Under him the mission continued for some years to flourish in a pleasing manner. The number of the Indians increased to about two hundred, including old and young, notwithstanding, there was for sometime, a considerable mortality among them. Most of those who appeared to have been converted under the ministry of his excellent brother, not only persevered in the profession of religion, but adorned it by a holy exemplary conversation, though several, as might be expected, were guilty of grievous backsliding. Some of those who had lately joined the settlement were brought under serious concern for their souls; and others of the congregation appeared to be made partakers of divine grace. Besides, they made considerable progress in civilization, and in the arts of life. The men cultivated the ground; the women learned to spin; and both, in a great measure, abandoned that idle slothful course of life which is so habitual to all the tribes of Indians. The school also was in a flourishing state; even the old people were so anxious to learn to read and understand the Scriptures, that many of them attended it in the evening, among whom, were some of forty or fifty years of age. Several of the boys were put out to trades, and it was proposed to erect a working-school for the girls. <sup>f</sup>

<sup>f</sup> Brainerd's Life, p. 249, 283, 341.—Letter from Mr. John Brainerd, London, 1753, p. 4, 12.—Account of the Soc. in Scotland for Prop. Christ. Know., prefixed to a Sermon by Robert Walker, p. 71.—Blair's Sermon before the Soc. in Scotland for Prop. Christ. Know. p. 44.—Plenderleath's Sermon, ditto, p. 75.



Besides labouring among his own congregation, Mr. John Brainerd occasionally made journies among the Indians in distant parts of the country, though with no other material effect than inducing some of them to come and settle with his people. In one of his visits to the Susquehannah, he had to encounter a difficulty of rather an extraordinary nature. On his arrival, the Indians pretended they had just received a revelation from heaven, which, after representing the evil of some particular vices, and recommending the sacrifice of a deer, and certain other superstitious practices, concluded by telling them, that God made two worlds, one for the White people, the other for the Indians; that the White people had no business to come into the Indian country, much less to persuade them to embrace their religion, for that he had commanded them to worship him in their own way, and their Red brethren to worship him in another; that though the White people made some pretences of instructing them, yet they had no design of doing them good, but merely to put money into their own pockets. In consequence of this revelation, the production, probably, of some interested Indian, Mr. Brainerd was able to do little amongst these poor people, though in other respects they seemed more civilized than any he had hitherto seen. <sup>s</sup>

In 1759, Mr. John Brainerd settled with his congregation upon a tract of land, which was purchased on their account by the government of New Jersey. Among the many difficulties attending the Christianizing and civilization of the Indians, their living

<sup>s</sup> Letter from Mr. John Brainerd, p. 5, 9.—Bonar's Sermon before the Soc. in Scotland for Prop. Christ. Know. p. 50.



in small villages, scattered through the wilderness, was none of the least. Hitherto this evil had only been partially corrected; but it was now proposed to collect them together in one place, and to fix them in regular habitations. The extent of country under Mr. Brainerd's charge, was a hundred miles east and west, and near eighty north and south. The land for the use of the Indians consisted of about four thousand acres, and was situated near the centre of the country, between the river Delaware and the Atlantic Ocean. The soil was suitable for Indian corn, rice, beans, potatoes, clover, and various kinds of fruit trees, and wanted nothing but cultivation, to supply the Indians with plenty of vegetables.<sup>n</sup> It does not appear, however, that this new arrangement was attended with that success which was expected or desired.

In 1774, Mr. Thomas Rankin, a Methodist preacher, met with Mr. John Brainerd, and received from him a very unfavourable statement, with respect to the Indians under his care. "What an unpleasing account," says he, "did he give me of the remains of his excellent brother's labours, as well as of his own, among the Indians! When his brother died, there was a large company of Indians who regularly attended the preaching of the word, and above sixty who were communicants. The number, however, who attended his ministry, was now small, and there were not above ten or twelve who were qualified for admission to the Lord's supper. On asking him the reason of this declension,

<sup>n</sup> Macqueen's Sermon before the Soc. in Scotland for Prop. Christ. Know. p. 67.—Account of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, 1774, p. 15, 18.



he observed, that some were dead, and died happy in the Lord; others had grown careless and lukewarm; and many had wandered back among their Pagan countrymen, several of whom had even returned to their idolatrous customs. Some, also, had yielded to the love of spirituous liquors, from which they seemed once completely weaned. Thus 'the gold had become dim, and the most fine gold was changed.'" We have given Mr. Rankin's account at large, but do not pledge ourselves for its accuracy. It is obvious he was mistaken with regard to the number of communicants at the time of Mr. David Brainerd's death, for, instead of being upwards of sixty, they did not amount to forty; and it appears from an official statement published about this very period, that the number of Indians under the pastoral care of Mr. John Brainerd, instead of being small, amounted to about 150 or 160, which is equal to what they were when he succeeded his brother; and it is stated by the same authority, that, "as to their morals, they were in general, rather reformed, and many of them even supported an unblemished character." Perhaps, therefore, Mr. Rankin, in the picture he has drawn, may undesignedly have overcharged the colouring in some other particulars; yet still we fear, his representation was by no means without foundation.<sup>i</sup>

During the American war, Mr. John Brainerd's correspondence with the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge was suspended, and toward the close of it he died. In 1783, he was succeeded in the charge of his congregation,

<sup>i</sup> Methodist Magazine, vol. xxxiv. p. 445.—Account of the Soc. in Scotland for Prop. Christ. Know. 1774, p. 18.



by Mr. Daniel Simon, an Indian, who had been ordained to the ministry; but it was soon found necessary to suspend him from his office, on account of drunkenness and other irregularities. No missionary was appointed to succeed him; but the congregation was occasionally supplied by the neighbouring ministers.<sup>k</sup>

In July 1802, some commissioners from New Jersey conducted eighty-five Delaware Indians, the remains of Mr. John Brainerd's congregation, to New Stockbridge, to place them under the ministry of Mr. Sergeant, the missionary in that town. For many years past they had been left entirely to themselves, having no spiritual shepherd to watch over them, no meetings for divine worship on the Sabbath, and no school for their children. Hence, they in general grew very wicked, and had been long in a very miserable state, scattered through the country, and excessively addicted to drinking. To this, however, there might be some exceptions: mention, at least, is made, of one old woman dying after they removed to Stockbridge, who dated her conversion from the time of the great awakening under Mr. David Brainerd, and who was distinguished for her piety to the day of her death.<sup>l</sup>

Such a result of those bright, those pleasing prospects, which once dawned on this tribe of Indians, is truly deplorable. Few of these individu-

<sup>k</sup> American Correspondence, among the records of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, MS. vol. i. p. 48, 49, 72, 122, 123.

<sup>l</sup> Religious Monitor, vol. i. p. 189.—Massachusetts Missionary Magazine, vol. iii. p. 387.



als, however, could have belonged to Mr. David Brainerd's congregation, and such as did, must, in general, have been little more than children at that time. Indeed, though there certainly was an extraordinary work of grace among his people, yet it was never supposed they were all converted.<sup>m</sup> Of adults, he baptized only between forty and fifty, and though there were many others, as we have already mentioned, under deep concern for their souls, yet as they did not give satisfactory evidence of a saving change, he judged it expedient to defer their baptism. Now, as the Christian Indians, in general, continued for several years at least to adorn their profession by a holy exemplary conversation; as some of them died happy in the Lord; as twenty-seven years after Mr. Brainerd's death, there were still, even according to the most unfavourable accounts, ten or twelve, who were considered as fit for admission to the Lord's Supper, it is probable there were as many, or even a greater number than he ever supposed, who were truly converted to Christ, maintained a Christian deportment to the last, and now join with him in heaven, in celebrating the praises of God and of the Lamb. It gives us much pleasure to state, that the late Dr. Witherspoon, president of New Jersey College, in referring to these Indians, assures us that it was fully attested, that they had persevered with scarcely any exceptions, in their profession of religion, and even adorned it by their exemplary conversation.<sup>n</sup> Still, however, it is melancholy to think, that our hopes with respect to so many other of the Indians, as

<sup>m</sup> Brainerd's Life, p. 340.

<sup>n</sup> American Correspondence, MS. vol. i. 171.



well as with regard to the extension and the permanence of the mission, have been so miserably disappointed. Let us learn not to be too sanguine in our expectations, even when appearances are of the most promising nature ; and especially, not to be so intoxicated by the most promising appearances, as to cease to “ watch unto prayer.”

## SECTION VI.

### ONEIDA.

IN November 1764, Mr. Samuel Kirkland set off for the country of the Seneca Indians, with the view of instructing them in the principles of Christianity. Having reached one of their towns called Kanasadago, he met with a friendly reception from the Indians ; but it was not long before he was involved in unforeseen difficulties. A few days after Mr. Kirkland's arrival, the chief man of the town in whose hut he lodged, died very suddenly. He lay down in his usual health at night, and was found dead in the morning. Upon this a general suspicion arose among the Indians, that the White man had either killed him with magic, or had brought death and destruction to the town. Impressed with these fears, they gave him nothing to eat for two days, and they even held a consultation among themselves, whether it would not be best to kill him. They resolved, however, only to set a guard upon him, and to kill him should he attempt to make his escape. A famine soon after arose in that quarter of the country, and for two months Mr. Kirkland lived without bread, flesh, or salt, ex-



cepting that he once tasted part of a bear. His ordinary food was small fish, roots, acorns, and a handful of pounded corn boiled in a large quantity of water. The Indians seeing his patience and perseverance, began to conceive a good opinion of him; and at length, many of them were persuaded that it was the Great Spirit who had disposed him to come among them. Still, however, there was a number of them who threatened his life; and one of the warriors in particular, declared that he would kill him, let the consequences be what they would.<sup>a</sup>

In May 1766, Mr. Kirkland returned from the country of the Senecas, and after being ordained to the office of the ministry, set off for Kanonwarohare, one of the principal towns of the Oneida Indians. A school had already been established in that village; the children who attended it made great progress in learning; and the inhabitants in general were extremely anxious to have a minister settled among them.<sup>b</sup> Taking advantage of this circumstance, Mr. Kirkland, soon after his arrival, assembled them together, and told them, that if they would solemnly engage to abandon the practice of drunkenness, and enable him to carry their determination into execution, by appointing six or eight of their principal men to assist him, with full power to seize all spirituous liquor, and either to destroy it, or dispose of it as he should think proper, he would remain among them; but if they would not consent to this proposal, he would then leave them. After some days' consideration, they agreed to this plan, and appointed eight persons, nominated by Mr.

<sup>a</sup> Narrative of the Indian Charity School at Lebanon in Connecticut, p. 29, 53.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 38, 43, 55, 57.



Kirkland, as his assistants, who proved very active and faithful in carrying it into execution. Such, indeed, was the success of this measure, that though in a short time, about eighty casks of rum were carried through the town, and offered to the Indians for sale, and even in some cases as a present, yet in no instance were they persuaded to accept of it. For about three months, only two were guilty of intoxication; and one of these was the only person in the town who opposed Mr. Kirkland's measures.

In the summer of 1767, Mr. Kirkland, and the Indians under his care, suffered much distress from the scarcity of provisions. For two years past the frost had destroyed their corn, and this season the worms threatened to lay waste at least one half of the crop, which was then in the ground. "From week to week," says Mr. Kirkland, "I am obliged to go with the Indians to Oneida lake, to catch eels for my subsistence. I have lodged and slept with them till I am as lousy as a dog. Flour and milk, and a few eels, have been my only living. Such diet, with my hard labour abroad, is not sufficient to support nature; my strength, indeed, begins to fail. My poor people are almost starved to death. There is one family consisting of four persons whom I must support in the best way I can, or they would certainly perish. Indeed, I would myself be glad of an opportunity to fall upon my knees for such a bone, as I have often seen cast to the dogs. Without relief I shall soon perish. My constitution is almost broken; my spirits sink: yet my heart still bleeds for these poor creatures. I had rather die than leave them alone in their present miserable condition."



Mr. Kirkland's necessities were no sooner known than they were relieved by his friends. But he had not long escaped from danger of perishing by hunger, when he was in no small hazard of his life from one of the Indians, in consequence of his endeavours to execute the law respecting spirituous liquors. Having learned that two or three women were drinking near the town, and that they had a great quantity of rum, he went immediately to them; and though they had concealed the liquor for fear of him, yet he soon discovered it, and destroyed it without further ceremony. One of the poor creatures afterwards fell upon her knees, and with bitter cries and tears mourned over the loss of her beloved liquor, and even licked up what was not soaked into the earth, uttering many imprecations against him for his cruelty. The husband of the woman to whom the spirits belonged, (a man who, by his own confession, had murdered no fewer than fourteen persons,) was so enraged, that he threatened to kill Mr. Kirkland, and even brought some Indians, from a neighbouring town, to assist him in executing his barbarous design. "The matter," said he, "is now settled; the minister shall never see another rising sun." Being apprized of his design, Mr. Kirkland was persuaded to leave the village that night, and to retire to a sugar-house about a mile and a half distant. He returned, however, to the town next morning; and though some of the Indians were still much enraged against him, yet most of them seemed more than ever attached to him, and expressed the utmost concern for his safety. One of them even offered three times to die in his stead.



Soon after this event, Mr. Kirkland visited the neighbouring town of Old Oneida, the inhabitants of which had manifested the utmost aversion to the gospel, and were so violent against the new regulations respecting spirituous liquors, that they employed every artifice to check the progress of the reformation; and even near relations, such as brothers and sisters, would not visit each other after the agreement was made. Now, however, they were much impressed by the word; and the inhabitants of the two villages not only came to hear the gospel with each other, but their mutual differences were completely removed, and a formal reconciliation effected between them. The people of Old Oneida even expressed their determination to enter into the same engagement as their brethren with regard to spirituous liquors; and it was agreed among them, that Mr. Kirkland should preach at the two places every alternate Sabbath. This change in the temper of the inhabitants of that town was the more extraordinary, as only a few months before they were loading Mr. Kirkland with imprecations, and wishing he was dead. The whole transaction was remarkably solemn. The tears flowed from many an eye, which formerly was seldom known to weep.

The mission among the Oneidas now assumed a most promising aspect; it seemed as if "the wilderness would soon rejoice and blossom as the rose." The Lord's day was observed by the Indians with the utmost strictness; drunkenness was in a great measure banished from among them; and there were a number who appeared to be sincere converts to the faith of Christ. Even the poor wretch who had



lately sought Mr. Kirkland's life was under deep convictions of sin, and made a public confession of his guilt in a most humble manner. <sup>c</sup>

In June 1773, the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, took Mr. Kirkland under their patronage, and agreed to pay his salary in conjunction with the corporation of Harvard College in New England. <sup>d</sup> During the American war, which began not long after, Mr. Kirkland was much interrupted in his labours among the Indians, as the country was in a very distracted state; but yet he often visited them, preaching the gospel, and performing other ministerial duties among them, notwithstanding the danger and fatigue to which it necessarily subjected him. <sup>e</sup> During this period, the Oneidas were likewise severe sufferers. A few of them joined the British; but the greater part adhered to the Americans. Many of their warriors were slain in battle; and after the destruction of their villages and churches by the English, they removed to the plains of Schenectady, or wandered among the neighbouring towns, till the cessation of hostilities permitted them to return to their own settlements. <sup>f</sup>

After the conclusion of the war, the Oneidas made a grant of land to a considerable number of other Indians of different tribes, that they might

<sup>c</sup> Continuation of the Narrative of the Indian Charity School, p. 1, 3, 11, 17, &c.

<sup>d</sup> Account of the Soc. in Scotland for prop. Christ. Know. 1774, p. 17.

<sup>e</sup> Fraser's Sermon before the Soc. in Scotland for prop. Christ. Know. p. 43.

<sup>f</sup> Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. iv. p. 69; vol. v. p. 16.



come and settle in their neighbourhood ; and they expected that in a short time, there would be upwards of a thousand of their countrymen in their vicinity disposed to listen to the word of God, and to cultivate the arts of civilized life. Having now the prospect of being again settled in their own country, they earnestly invited Mr. Kirkland to return and take up his residence among them. " We have been attending," said they, " for many years to the vast difference between White people and Indians. We have laboured much to investigate the cause ; for the one are in prosperous circumstances, the other are indigent and wretched. The one appear to be the favourites of heaven, and honourable in the sight of men ; the other are despised and rejected of both. We Indians, therefore, must alter our conduct. We must give up our Pagan customs. We must unite with all our wisdom and strength, to cultivate the manners and civilization of the White people, who are thus distinguished by the favour and protection of the Great Spirit above, and embrace the religion of Christ, or we shall, before many years, be not only despised by the nations of the earth, but utterly rejected by the Lord Jesus, the Saviour of the White people.

" We entreat our Father to make one trial more for Christianizing the Indians, at least for one, if not for two years ; and if there be no encouragement after this, that we shall be built up as a people and embrace the religion of Christ, he may leave us, and we shall expect nothing but ruin."

About the same time, the Indians addressed a letter to the Commissioners in Boston, who were invested by the Society in Scotland with the super-



intendence of the mission ; and in this letter, they beseech them to send Mr. Kirkland among them, in the following energetic language :

“ Fathers, attend to our words !

“ It is a long time since we heard your voice. We hope you have not forgotten us. The Great Spirit above hath preserved us, and led us back to our country, and rekindled our fire in peace, which we hope he will preserve to warm and refresh us and our children to the latest posterity.

“ Fathers, we have been distressed with the black cloud that so long overspread our country. The cloud is now blown over. Let all thank the Great Spirit, and praise Christ Jesus. By means of his servants, the good news of salvation have been published to us. We have received them. Some of us love the Lord Jesus, who hath preserved us through the late storm. Fathers, our fire just begins to burn again. Our hearts rejoice to see it. We hope it will burn brighter and brighter than ever, and that it will enlighten the Indian nations around us.

“ Fathers, we doubt not but your hearts will rejoice in our prosperity ; and as the Great Spirit above hath given us the light of peace once more, we hope he will, by your means, send to us the light of his holy word ; and that you will think of our father Mr. Kirkland, and enable him to eat his bread by our fire-side. He hath for several years laboured among us, and done every thing in his power for our good. Our father Mr. Kirkland loves us, and we love him. He hath long had the charge of us, hath long watched over us, and explained the word of God to us. Fathers, we repeat our re-



quest, that you will continue our father to sit by our fire-side, to watch over us, to instruct us, and to lead us in the way to heaven.”<sup>8</sup>

In the autumn of 1785, Mr. Kirkland, agreeably to the request of the Indians, returned and settled among them. In several villages, particularly Kanonwarohare, Old Oneida, and Kanadesko, he found the people so desirous of religious instruction, with the exception of only two or three who were professed Pagans, that they would assemble for that purpose at almost any time of the day. On the Sabbath, he generally performed divine service at Kanonwarohare, as it was not only the principal village, but the most central of the whole. Here the Indians collected in such numbers from the other towns, which were four, six, ten, and even near thirty miles distant, that there was no house sufficiently large to contain them, and therefore they were often obliged to assemble for public worship under the trees in the open air. The order, attention, and solemnity which appeared in their meetings, were often truly delightful. They never seemed tired of hearing the word of God; their applications for instruction were frequently so incessant, that Mr. Kirkland had scarcely leisure to take his food. Upwards of seventy appeared to be under serious impressions of religion. Their views of divine truth were, in general, scriptural and rational, though some appeared to have a tincture of enthusiasm. Their convictions of sin were deep and pungent; and in many instances, the sense of its

<sup>8</sup> Fraser's Sermon before the Soc. in Scotland for Prop. Christ. Know. p. 46.



evil seemed to rise higher than the fear of punishment. There was, at the same time, a remarkable reformation of manners among them. Many who had been guilty of the foulest crimes, and had led an extremely dissipated life, now became sober, regular, and industrious: for some months there was not a single instance of intoxication in two of the villages;<sup>n</sup> but this fair prospect was afterwards overcast; religion declined among them and even sunk to a very low ebb.

In the summer of 1796, the Rev. Doctors Morse and Belknap proceeded, by desire of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, to the Oneida country, in order to inquire into the state of the mission among the Indians. By their report, it appears, that the number of Indians, including men, women, and children, under the care of Mr. Kirkland, amounted to six hundred and twenty-eight. For some years past, however, there had been no pure Oneidas. There was scarcely, indeed, an individual among them who was not descended on one side or other from English, Scotch, Irish, French, German, or Dutch parents, and some also from negroes. Among them there were only eight persons who were professed Pagans; but though the others called themselves Christians, the greater part of them appeared to have nothing of Christianity but the name. Of the women, there were thirty-six who were reputed sober, and among these Mr. Kirkland reckoned twenty-four to be serious Christians. Of the men, there were only three or four who were of a sober character; and

<sup>n</sup> Rippon's Baptist Register, vol. ii. p. 233.



at the last communion only one attended. Mr. Kirkland baptized no children except those whose parents, or at least one of them, were members of the church. But the others were at little loss on this account, as they carried their children thirty or forty miles to the Dutch or German plantations, where, on paying the usual fee of half a dollar, they found no difficulty in obtaining baptism for them, and then they were perfectly easy about their salvation.

Though the number of professed Pagans was small, yet the whole nation, notwithstanding their opportunities for religious improvement, were still influenced in a great degree by their ancient mythology. They were all firm believers in witchcraft and the agency of invisible beings; they paid great regard to dreams and omens, and attributed the most common events to causes with which they could not have the most distant connexion. Some time before, an Indian was drowned in one of the Oneida creeks, which were annually visited by salmon. When the fishing season returned, they imagined that no salmon would be found in that stream, until a gentleman from Albany, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, persuaded them that he had put something into the water to purify it; upon which, they resorted to the creek, caught the fish as formerly, and thought themselves much indebted to the gentleman for his kindness.

In the savage state, it was usual for the men to attach themselves to no particular woman, but to rove at large among the females till they had passed the vigour of youth, and then they confined themselves to one as their wife. The Oneidas now



married young, and were said to be more continent than formerly.

Murders were said to be less frequent than formerly; but still they were by no means uncommon. A melancholy instance of this kind, which happened a few days before the arrival of Doctors Morse and Belknap, exhibits a striking proof of the relaxed state of society among them. Two young Oneidas having had a quarrel, the one shot the other dead. The father of the deceased immediately went and despatched the murderer, and no further notice was taken of the matter.<sup>i</sup>

With respect to drinking spirituous liquors to excess, they were generally addicted to it, when they had them in their power, except the few individuals already mentioned. The Chiefs, indeed, had frequently attempted to prohibit the introduction and sale of that pernicious article; but from the small degree of power they possess, and the unquenchable thirst of the people for ardent spirits, these efforts had hitherto proved ineffectual.<sup>k</sup> \*

<sup>i</sup> Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. v. p. 12, 15, 17. <sup>k</sup> Ibid. vol. v. p. 20, 21.

\* No external circumstance has contributed more to impede the progress of Christianity, and the arts of civilization among the Indians of North America, than the introduction of spirituous liquors among them by the White people. Of this they themselves have long been sensible; but though they have occasionally displayed much eloquence in declaiming against the rum trade, and have often passed excellent laws with regard to it; yet so little resolution have they, that they fall before the first temptation that presents itself. Beatty's *Tour, with the view of promoting Christianity among the Indians*, p. 31. Loskiel's *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians*, part i. p. 100, part ii. p. 156, part iii. p. 87.

In June 1802, when a chief named Little Turtle passed



As to agriculture, it was yet in its infancy among the Oneidas, and the labour of cultivating the fields was still performed chiefly by the women. Idle-

through Baltimore, on his way to visit the president of the United States, the Quakers in that town, who for several years had been making some laudable attempts to promote the civilization of the Indians, had an interview with him, and having adverted to the pernicious effects of the rum trade, in preventing the success of their endeavours, he made a very impressive and pathetic speech on the subject, of which the following is an extract :

“ Brothers and Friends,

“ When our forefathers first met on this island, your Red brethren were very numerous ; but since the introduction amongst us of what *you* call *spirituous liquors*, and what we think may justly be called *poison*, our numbers are greatly diminished. It has destroyed a great part of your Red brethren.

“ My Brothers and Friends,

“ We plainly perceive, that you see the very evil which destroys your Red brethren. It is not an evil of our own making. We have not placed it amongst ourselves. It is an evil placed amongst us by the White people. We look to them to remove it out of the country. We tell them, brethren, fetch us useful things ; bring us goods that will clothe us, our women, and our children ; and not this evil liquor, that destroys our health, that destroys our reason, that destroys our lives. But all that we can say on this subject is of no service, nor gives relief to your Red brethren.

“ My Brothers and Friends,

“ I rejoice to find, that you agree in opinion with us, and express an anxiety to be, if possible, of service to us, in removing this great evil out of our country ; an evil which has had so much room in it, and has destroyed so many of our lives, that it causes our young men to say, ‘ We had better be at war with the White people. This liquor which they introduce into our country, is more to be feared than the gun and the tomahawk.’ There are more of us dead since the treaty of Greeneville, than we lost by the six years war before. It is all owing to the introduction of this liquor among us.



ness was the sin that easily beset them, and was the natural parent of many other of their vices. "Indians cannot work," was a saying often in their

" Brothers,

" When our young men have been out hunting, and are returned home loaded with skins and furs, if it happens that on their way they come where this whisky is deposited, the White man who sells it, tells them to take a little drink. Some of them will say, ' No, I do not want it.' They go on till they come to another house, where they find more of the same kind of drink. It is there offered again; they refuse; and again the third time; but, finally, the fourth or fifth time one accepts of it, and takes a drink, and getting one he wants another, and then a third and fourth, till his senses have left him. After his reason comes back to him, when he gets up, and finds where he is, he asks for his peltry. The answer is, ' You have drank them.' ' Where is my gun?' ' It is gone.' ' Where is my blanket?' ' It is gone.' ' Where is my shirt?' ' You have sold it for whisky!' Now, Brothers, figure to yourselves what condition this man must be in. He has a family at home; a wife and children who stand in need of the profits of his hunting. What must be their wants, when even he himself is without a shirt?"

After mature deliberation, the committee of the Quakers, convinced that no progress could be made in the civilization of the Indians, while they were so abundantly supplied with ardent spirits, resolved to address Congress on this subject. The memorial they presented was favourably received by the legislature, and a law was passed, which in some degree provided a remedy for this enormous evil. This measure was immediately attended with the most beneficial effects. In a very short time, the progress of the Indians in civilization, in the cultivation of their lands, in spinning, knitting, weaving, and other useful arts, far surpassed the expectations of their most sanguine friends. (*Accounts of two Attempts towards the Civilization of some Indian Natives*, part ii. p. 17, &c. *Sketch of further Proceedings for promoting the Civilization of the Indian Natives*, p. 5. We shall rejoice if these improvements are permanent; but the Indians are so fickle and irresolute a people, and the



mouths. They had an idea, that to labour in cultivating the ground is degrading to the character of a man, who, they say, "was made for war and

fair hopes to which they have often given birth have hitherto been so miserably disappointed, that we cannot but entertain strong apprehensions of the final result, especially as the attempts of the Quakers are made independent of Christianity, which, we are confident is by far the most efficient engine for civilizing the barbarous nations of the world.

In the speech of Little Turtle to the Quakers at Baltimore, there are some striking allusions to the diminution of the Indian tribes. This is a subject, to which their orators often refer in very feeling and energetic terms. In a letter, which the Stockbridge Indians addressed a few years ago to the New York Baptist Association, we meet with the following picturesque language :

"Wise Men and Brothers,

"We beg your attention to the voice of your Indian brethren, commonly called the Stockbridge Indians, having our fire-place near the front door of the different tribes of Indians : we desire to speak to your ears.

"In the first place, we will remind you, that we believe it was the will of the great good Spirit, that your forefathers were brought over the great waters to this island for a certain good purpose. Our forefathers then appeared like tall trees, but were under the dark clouds, yet they contended well in it.

"Brothers, with sorrowful heart we now desire you to look back a little, and view the ruins of our mighty trees ; you can scarcely find where they have fallen,—scarcely find any stumps or roots remaining ; but if you look down near your feet, you will see the remnant of your brethren like small bushes, who now looking up speak to you, for you are become very great ; you reach to the clouds, you can see all over this island, but we can scarcely reach to your ankles." *Rippon's Bap. Reg.* vol. iii. p. 47.

This is no exaggerated picture ; it is a simple representation of facts. In New England, a collection of Indians sufficiently numerous to be denominated a tribe, is now scarcely to be



hunting, and holding councils; and that women and hedgehogs were made to scratch the earth." It was also a proverbial tradition among them, that

found. The Massachusetts, the Pennakooks, the Agawomes, the Naumkeeks, the Piscataways, the Wampanoags, the Saco-nets, the Nipmugs, and many other tribes, are totally extinct. With respect to the remains of the New England Indians, some idea may be formed from the following statement, of the numbers of the principal tribes, which is derived chiefly from actual enumerations; but, as more than half a century has elapsed since some of these estimates were formed, it is probable several of the tribes in this list may have become extinct, while those who remain, must be considerably diminished, as the diminution of the Indian tribes is generally accelerated in an increasing ratio toward the period of their extinction.

|                                                                                                                                   |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 1761. King Ninegret's tribe, . . . . .                                                                                            | 248 |
| 1761. The Montauks, . . . . .                                                                                                     | 162 |
| 1761. The Neantics, . . . . .                                                                                                     | 85  |
| 1762. The Pequots, . . . . .                                                                                                      | 140 |
| 1762. The tribe about Derby, &c. Connecticut, .                                                                                   | 127 |
| 1762. The Potenummecuts, near Harwich, . . .                                                                                      | 64  |
| 1762. The Monymoyks, at Chatham, Cape Cod, .                                                                                      | 25  |
| 1792. The Mashpees, . . . . .                                                                                                     | 280 |
| 1792. The Herring Pond Indians, . . . . .                                                                                         | 120 |
| 1792. The Indians in Duke's county, including Mar-<br>tha's Vineyard, Chabaquiddick, Noman's and<br>Elizabeth's Islands . . . . . | 440 |
| 1797. The Natick Indians, nearly . . . . .                                                                                        | 20  |
| 1803. The Penobscots, estimated at . . . . .                                                                                      | 347 |
| 1803. The Mohegans, . . . . .                                                                                                     | 84  |

In 1774, the whole number of Indians in Rhode Island colony was 1482, and the whole number in Connecticut was 1363. In 1792, there were no Indians in New Hampshire, some of them having removed into Canada, but the greater part were extinct. The Indians were never numerous in Vermont, and, at the period now mentioned, there were none who lived in that part of the country. Within the district of Maine, the Indians were all Roman Catholics, and were reduced to about sixty families on Penobscot river, and about thirty at



"the Great Spirit gave the White man a plough, and the Red man a bow and an arrow, and sent them into the world by different paths, each to get a living in his own way." Among the Oneidas the land was still held in common, which necessarily proved a powerful obstacle to its improvement.

Passamaquaddy, at each of which places they had a church. *Holme's Sermon before the Society at Boston, for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America*, p. 32, 41.

In 1796, the numbers of the Six Nations, inhabiting principally the western parts of the state of New York, were as follow :

|                           | Within the United States. | Within the British lines. |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Mohawks . . . . .         |                           | 300                       |
| Oneidas . . . . .         | 628                       |                           |
| Cayugas . . . . .         | 40                        | 460                       |
| Onondagos . . . . .       | 450                       |                           |
| Tuscaroras . . . . .      | 400                       |                           |
| Senekas . . . . .         | 1780                      |                           |
| New Stockbridge . . . . . | 300                       |                           |
| Brothertown . . . . .     | 150                       |                           |
|                           | <hr/>                     | <hr/>                     |
| Total,                    | 3748                      | 760                       |

*Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. v. p. 23.

But though the Indians in those parts of America which were early settled, are so greatly diminished, the number in other quarters of the country is still very considerable. Within the territory of the United States, it is estimated there are about 240,000 Indians, who are divided into about seventy tribes. Near 100,000 live to the east of the Mississippi, and of these the four southern tribes, the Creeks, the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, and the Cherokees, constitute about 70,000. (*Report of the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 1815, p. 12.) By another account, the Creeks alone, amount to between seventy and eighty thousand.—*Morav. Period. Accounts*, vol. iii. p. 317.



Not more than two or three families procured a subsistence entirely by agriculture; and these had little encouragement to proceed, as their neighbours used to live upon them as long as they could find any thing to eat. The Oneidas, in general, procured a miserable subsistence, by fishing and fowling; by raising a little corn, beans, and potatoes; and by means of an annuity of 3552 dollars from the legislature of New York, as the price of lands purchased from them; but this money, instead of proving an incitement, was a hinderance to industry; for as long as an Indian can procure a living in any other way, he will not work.<sup>1</sup>

In March 1808, Mr. Kirkland died, after having spent upwards of forty years as a missionary among the Indians. He had long been distinguished for his faithfulness and zeal, his benevolence, perseverance and activity; but, in the latter period of his life, he declined greatly from his former exertions, chiefly, if not solely, in consequence of his involving himself in land speculations, which superinduced a worldly spirit, and ultimately brought him to poverty. Previous, however, to his death, he recovered in a considerable degree his reputation.<sup>m</sup>

In January 1817, the Pagan party of the Oneida Indians, addressed a letter to the Governor of the State of New York, containing a formal renunciation of heathenism, and a profession of Christianity. Through the benevolent exertions of the Quakers,

<sup>1</sup> Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. v. p. 19, 22, 26, 28.

<sup>m</sup> Panoplist, vol. iii. p. 536.—American Correspondence among the Records of the Soc. in Scotland for Prop. Christ. Know. MS. vol. i. p. 259, 279; vol. ii. p. 95.—MS. Accounts in the Author's possession.



this branch of the Oneida tribe, had of late years made great improvement, in respect of industry and sobriety. With a few exceptions, they appeared to be weaned from the use of spirituous liquors, and they were making considerable progress in agriculture. They amounted to 440 persons, \* and possessed 19,000 acres of land, of which 500 were improved. In one year, they raised about 1200 bushels of wheat, and 1800 bushels of Indian corn: They had also 25 horses, 24 oxen, 33 cows, 18 young cattle, 40 sheep, and 100 swine. Mr. Eleazar Williams, the son of an Indian chief, was their religious instructor; but, notwithstanding their professed renunciation of heathenism, there seems among them, little appearance of vital Christianity. <sup>n</sup>

<sup>n</sup> New York Christian Herald, vol. ii. p. 361; vol. iv. p. 148.  
—Account of Measures pursued by the Friends of New York for the civilization of the Indians, p. 7, 10, 14, 20, 25.

\* This is the number, merely of the Second Christian party of Oneida Indians who had lately renounced paganism. The others who were previously professed Christians, are called the First party; they form together, upwards of a thousand persons.—New York Christian Herald, vol. v. p. 461.



## CHAPTER FIFTH.

## PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE DANES.

## SECTION I.

## EAST INDIES.

SOON after the commencement of the eighteenth century, Frederick the Fourth, King of Denmark, in consequence of the recommendation of the Rev. Dr. Lutkens, one of his chaplains, resolved to make an attempt for the conversion of the Heathen on the coast of Coromandel in the East Indies. In November 1705, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plutcho, two young men who were educated for the ministry at the university of Halle in Upper Saxony, and whom he had engaged with this view, embarked at Copenhagen; and, after an agreeable voyage of seven months, they arrived in safety at Tranquebar, the principal town belonging to the Danes in that quarter of the world. <sup>a</sup>

In commencing their labours among the Heathen, the missionaries were anxious to lose no time. As a barbarous kind of Portuguese, which had been introduced into India about two centuries before, was now spoken and understood by great numbers of the natives, they had begun to learn that language during the voyage, and on their arrival they

<sup>a</sup> Niecampii Historia Missionis Evangelicæ in India Orientali, p. 2.



proceeded to study with unwearied diligence, the Tamul, which is the vernacular language of that part of the country, especially Ziegenbalg, who devoted his attention particularly to it, while Plutcho applied to the Portuguese. Impressed with the importance of educating the native youth, they early instituted a charity school, for the purpose, not only of instructing, but of clothing and supporting as many poor children as they were able, out of their own salaries. With the natives, they had frequent conversations on the subject of religion, and in a short time, they had the pleasure of baptizing a number of them. <sup>b</sup>

While the missionaries prosecuted their labours with indefatigable diligence and zeal, they were not without their difficulties and discouragements. Besides meeting with many powerful obstacles from the prejudices of the natives, they experienced the most determined opposition from the Europeans resident in the country, who, instead of being their friends and supporters, proved their enemies and persecutors. The hostility they displayed, was not only keen, but of long continuance; nor was all the authority of the King of Denmark, able for some years to suppress it. Edict followed edict in favour of the missionaries; but their enemies, among whom was the Danish Governor of Tranquebar, disregarded the orders of his Majesty, and continued to molest them in their labours. Ziegenbalg, was even at one time arrested, and kept in confinement for four months. <sup>c</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Niecampii Hist. p. 126, 128, 129, 133, 139. <sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 96, 141, 154.—Propagation of the Gospel in the East, part i. p. 32; part iii. p. 18.



The missionaries at the same time suffered great embarrassments from the want of pecuniary support. The first subsidy of two thousand Imperial pieces which was sent them from Europe, was lost in the sea near Tranquebar. The mission was now so enlarged, that forty or fifty Imperial pieces were required monthly for its support; but where to raise so large a sum, the missionaries could not tell. They were ready to bear the greatest privations themselves; but they could not endure the thought of their children and domestics suffering want. While they were harassed with these painful apprehensions, they providentially obtained a supply of money. A person from whom one would little have expected it, offered them forty Imperial pieces to keep in trust for him until the arrival of the ships from Europe; and when this sum was expended, others offered them two hundred Imperial pieces on similar conditions. At length, when they had scarcely two oboli left, a ship arrived from Europe which brought them a large supply of money, together with three other assistants in their work, Grundler, Boëving and Jordan.<sup>d</sup>

In 1710, the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge which was established a few years before in London, began to patronize the mission on the coast of Coromandel, and ever since that period, it has been a principal instrument of supporting and extending the undertaking. As the missionaries had often complained of the great trouble and expense they were at, in getting books transcribed for the schools, and for distribution among the natives,

<sup>d</sup> Niecampii Hist. p. 140, 143.



the Directors of that institution, not only printed an edition of the Portuguese New Testament, principally for their use, but sent them a printing press, a fount of Roman and Italic characters, and a quantity of paper. A fount of Tamul types was afterwards cast at Halle in Saxony, according to a specimen sent home by the missionaries, and was forwarded to them. But as it must have been extremely inconvenient for them to depend on Europe for all their printing materials, they at length erected a type foundery at Tranquebar, and built a papermill to supply themselves with paper. <sup>c</sup>

Having now a press of their own, the missionaries at Tranquebar, began to employ that powerful engine for the dissemination of Christian Knowledge through the country. From this period, vast quantities of books were every year published by them, and widely circulated among the natives, who not only received them with great avidity, but read them to their neighbours, and held conversations concerning them, both among themselves and with the missionaries, so that a general stir was excited in the country about religion. Some malicious persons, indeed, endeavoured to stop this important part of their operations, under the pretence that, according to law, the missionaries had no right to print any work until it had passed through the hands of the censor. But his Majesty the King of Denmark soon settled this point, by transmitting orders to the governor and council at Tranquebar, to allow the missionaries to publish whatever books

<sup>c</sup> Niecampii Hist. p. 155, 158, 163, 171, 199.—Propagation of the Gospel, part i. p. xxxvi; part iii. p. 33.



they should judge necessary, for promoting Christianity among the natives.<sup>f</sup>

In 1715, the New Testament, translated into Tamul, by Ziegenbalg, issued from the press at Tranquebar. The translation of the Holy Scriptures into the language of the natives, was an object on which the heart of this indefatigable man had been early fixed; but, lest he should produce an inaccurate version, he delayed entering on this important undertaking, until he was able to write the language with elegance and correctness. Upwards of two years, therefore, elapsed after his arrival in India, before he began this work; and notwithstanding the many difficulties which attended the attempt, he finished the translation of the New Testament, in about two years and a half. Various circumstances, however, combined to delay the publication of it for several years longer, among which was the advice of his friends in Europe to review it carefully, before he put it to the press; an advice, which, no doubt, contributed materially to the correctness of the version.<sup>g</sup>

In February 1719, died Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, who had the honour of originally establishing the mission, and who possessed, in no ordinary degree, those qualifications, which exalt and adorn the character of a Christian missionary. Piety, zeal, and activity, in propagating the gospel among the Heathen, shine conspicuous throughout the whole of his conduct. No service appeared to him too arduous, no sacrifice too great, if it might contribute to this noble end. His numerous trials, instead of shaking

<sup>f</sup> Niecampii Hist. p. 163, 170. <sup>g</sup> Ibid. p. 141, 153, 182.



his resolution, only confirmed him in his purpose of living and dying a missionary among the Heathen. Amidst accumulated cares and labours, he maintained the most singular equanimity; his mind was always serene and tranquil, a circumstance which rendered his intercourse with others highly agreeable. With these qualifications, were combined respectable talents, singular prudence, and a happy turn for the acquisition of languages. His discourses were judicious and affectionate; his patience in instructing the Pagans was invincible; his love toward them was so pure and fervent, that it kindled a corresponding affection in their breast, and disposed them to receive his instructions with a ready mind. Such, indeed, was the attachment of the natives to him, that the Pagans, as well as the Christians, bewailed his death with many tears.<sup>h</sup>

In the meanwhile, Benjamin Schultze, Nicholas Dal, and John Henry Kistenmacher, three new missionaries, had embarked for India, and though on landing they were deeply affected to hear of the death of Ziegenbalg, yet their arrival was a source of no less consolation to Grundler. After the loss of his beloved colleague, he was for two months in so weak a state of health, that in conducting public worship, he was obliged to sit in the pulpit. It was truly affecting to hear him supplicating God with many tears, not to afflict the little flock which they had gathered from among the Heathen, by depriving them of both their pastors, before other missionaries should arrive in the country and be prepared for the work. His prayers were heard

<sup>h</sup> Niecampii Hist. p. 217.



and answered. Accordingly, upon the arrival of the new missionaries, he was at particular pains to prepare them for entering upon their labours among the Heathen.

Having gained so far the object of his wishes, he was soon called to follow his departed colleague to the grave. He recovered, indeed, from his late indisposition, but he was afterwards seized with a flux. As, however, it was not violent, he still pursued his usual labours, and even proposed undertaking a journey into the Mogul empire. Having experienced a remission of his disorder for a few days, he was unwilling to lose the opportunity of going by sea to Cuddalore, for the sake of saving expense; and then he designed to proceed further into the country, and to preach the gospel among the Pagan inhabitants. Nobody could witness his departure without shedding tears; for it was obvious to every one that a voyage promised no advantage to his health, already so debilitated by disease. Unfortunately, the event shewed that their apprehensions were not without foundation. Having contracted cold by the way, he was soon obliged to return to Tranquebar. From that time his disorder continued to increase, and to consume what little strength he still possessed. His whole soul seemed now absorbed in the contemplation of eternal things, and after lingering about three weeks longer, he breathed his last, and on the following day his mortal remains were committed to the grave close to the ashes of his departed colleague.<sup>i</sup>

Thus, within little more than a twelvemonth,

<sup>i</sup> Niecampii Hist. p. 213, 220.



the mission lost its two principal pillars in the eastern world. Both Ziegenbalg and Grundler were men admirably qualified for the important station in which Providence had placed them; yet they were taken away at a time when their continuance seemed of peculiar importance, and promised the most extensive usefulness. These severe and successive blows threatened the very extinction of the mission, and afforded the enemies of the undertaking a temporary triumph. The Roman Catholics in India pleased themselves with the hope, that the Danish mission was now at an end; and even among the Protestants in Europe, there were not wanting some who held similar language. By the false reports which they industriously circulated concerning the failure of the undertaking, they even succeeded, to a certain extent, in diminishing its pecuniary resources, and by this means involved it in considerable difficulties.<sup>k</sup>

Meanwhile, Schultze and his fellow missionaries endeavoured to encourage themselves by faith in God; and though the circumstances under which they commenced their labours were so extremely unfavourable, yet the mission, instead of declining in their hands, was not only continued, but extended by them. On account of the smallness of their number, they were at first under the necessity of giving up the practice of making journies into different parts of the country and preaching the gospel to the inhabitants, but after sometime, they were again able to resume this important part of their work.<sup>l</sup>

With the view of paving the way for the progress

<sup>k</sup> Niecampii Hist. p. 223.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. p. 223, 231.



of Christianity among the natives, they resolved to augment the number of schools for the education of children; and the governor, about the same time, issued an order that all the inhabitants of the Danish territory, should have their children instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic. The schools, in consequence of this, were increased from five to twenty-one; and though only four of them contained Christian children, while the other seventeen consisted of Pagan and Mahomedan children, yet they were all under the inspection of the missionaries, who appointed two catechists to visit them regularly. The whole number of youth attending these schools, amounted at one period to no fewer than five hundred and seventy-five; but the management of them was attended with so many difficulties, that after some time, it was found necessary to withdraw the salary of several of the teachers.<sup>m</sup>

In 1727, the Old Testament in Tamul was completed at the press, so that the whole of the sacred volume was now translated into that language. To this, was shortly after added the Apocrypha, which would certainly have better been spared, as it not only constitutes no part of the word of God, but contains a large portion of fable and nonsense. Previous to his death, Ziegenbalg had proceeded in the translation of the Old Testament, as far as Ruth: the remaining books were completed by Schultze. Besides consulting the Hebrew original, and the German translation of Luther, he was able to make use of the Spanish, Italian, French, Danish, and Dutch versions, and other useful books; he

<sup>m</sup> Niecampii Hist. p. 253, 285.



likewise enjoyed the assistance of a learned Brahmin and of others of the natives, some of whom understood the German and Portuguese languages. To this work he usually devoted six hours a day; and at length, after about two years' assiduous study, he was so happy as to finish it. The joy which the converts expressed at having the whole Bible in their own language, amply compensated him for all the labour and toil he had employed upon it. Indeed, while he was engaged in this work, he enjoyed so much pleasure in studying the Holy Scriptures, that his soul daily fed, as it were, in green pastures. <sup>n</sup>

In 1728, Schultze, who had removed two years before from Tranquebar to Madras, was taken under the patronage of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, who were anxious to establish a mission in that city. The attempt was attended with many difficulties; but yet, it was not long before he succeeded in forming a church at this place. Numbers of the converts had previously been Roman Catholics, a circumstance which mightily enraged the Popish priests against the mission. Some who resided at St. Thomas' Mount proceeded to such extremities, that they rushed violently on one of the congregation, and after beating him severely, designed to carry him bound to Goa, and deliver him into the hands of the Inquisition. But the governor of the place, though a Mahomedan, took the part of the poor man, and ordered his persecutors to be punished. On another occasion, some of the Catholics beat one of the converts most unmercifully, assigning this ridiculous reason for

\* Niecampii Hist. p. 234, 255, 287, 311.



their conduct, that he was of the religion of the Turks. The missionaries advised the catechists not to enter into disputes with the Papists on controverted points of religion, but to content themselves with stating the simple truths of the gospel, that so they might afford them as little occasion as possible for their enmity. But though the catechists acted, in this respect, with the utmost prudence and moderation, the Papists continued to display the same rancour as ever against them. °

Besides preaching no less than four times on the Lord's day, in the Tamul, the Telinga, and the Portuguese languages, Schultze translated the whole of the Old and New Testament, and the Apocrypha, into Telinga; but though he was anxious to have them printed, it does not appear that this was ever accomplished. He also wrote a Grammar of that language, and translated into it, several works on the subject of religion. He afterwards translated into Hindostanee, the New Testament, the four first chapters of Genesis, the Psalms of David, the Prophecy of Daniel, and some books of the Apocrypha. He likewise compiled a Grammar of that language. The whole of these, with the exception of the Apocryphal books, were printed at Halle in Saxony, after his return to Europe. p

In the meanwhile, the way was preparing for the introduction of Christianity into the kingdom of Tanjore, through the instrumentality of Rajanaiken,

° Niecampii Hist. p. 276, 312, 321. p Ibid. p. 296, 365.  
—Meier Missions Geschichte oder Auszug der Evangelischen Missions-Berichte aus Ostindien, von 1737, bis 1767, p 63, 74, 109, 140, 160, 478.—Bibliographical Dictionary, vol. i. p. 285. vol. vi. p. 222.



an inferior officer in the service of the Rajah of that country. The grandfather of this young man had been a convert to the church of Rome, and in consequence of this, he himself was baptized in his infancy. Animated by an ardent thirst for knowledge, he learned to read in the twenty-second year of his age, and afterwards employed himself in perusing such Roman Catholic books as happened to fall in his way. A Meditation which he met with on the Sufferings of Christ, was the mean of convincing him of his sinfulness, and impressing him with a sense of his misery. Happening to see a copy of the Four Evangelists and the Acts of the Apostles in the hands of a Roman Catholic pandaram, he was so happy at finding this treasure, that he prevailed on him by promises and presents, to grant him the loan of it. Rajanaiken was so delighted in reading it, that he spent the whole day, and even a great part of the night, in the sacred employment. After finishing it, he thought with himself, that perhaps the pandaram might soon return and demand it from him. Anxious not to lose so invaluable a treasure, he resolved to write a copy of the whole: but when he had got near the end of Luke, as he was not accustomed to writing, he became tired, and as the pandaram did not return, he desisted from the laborious attempt. After a lapse of about two years he heard of the missionaries at Tranquebar, and obtained from them more correct views of divine truth than he had previously possessed. Being at length perfectly convinced of the errors of Popery, he laboured to employ the knowledge he had acquired, and the books he had received for instructing his countrymen, both Pagans



and Roman Catholics; and in some instances his exertions were not without effect.

Influenced by the example of Rajanaiken, a Roman Catholic catechist in the kingdom of Tanjore, named Surrapp, sent his son, Sattianaden, to Tranquebar with letters to the missionaries; and in the meanwhile he himself was busy in collecting in his own town some of the Pagans into a church, though the Popish priests pursued him with the heaviest threatenings, and at length laid him under a sentence of excommunication. Sattianaden afterwards brought a number of the converts to Tranquebar to be baptized; and as he had frequently offered his assistance in propagating the gospel in the kingdom of Tanjore, the missionaries could no longer hesitate to receive him into their service, and to appoint him the catechist of the little flock he had gathered from among the heathen. Alarmed by these circumstances, the Roman Catholics had recourse to still more violent measures, in order to stop the progress of the contagion. They so molested Surrapp, that they at length prevailed on him to return to the bosom of the church. Out of hatred to Sattianaden, they refused burial to his grandmother, though she had never professed the Protestant religion. More catechists were appointed in that part of the country, who not only studied, by the most artful methods, to alienate the hearts of the young converts, but endeavoured to irritate their Pagan countrymen against them, saying, they had received the law of Europeans and the religion of Pariars, and therefore ought not to be tolerated among honest men.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Niecampii Hist. p. 289.



Rajanaiken, on his return to Tanjore, likewise sought opportunities to make the gospel known among his countrymen; and it was not long before he was so happy, as to convince some of the Roman Catholics of the truth of the Protestant faith, particularly two inferior officers. Several of the Popish catechists entered into disputation with him; but he so confounded them by arguments drawn from the Holy Scriptures, that they could not answer him a word. He now resolved to leave the army, and to devote his life to the service of the mission, though this was attended with temporal loss to himself. Happy to obtain so valuable an instrument for spreading the gospel in the kingdom of Tanjore, the missionaries gladly accepted of the offer, and appointed him catechist in that part of the country, with a brother of his own as his assistant. The Roman Catholics now became more violent than ever in their opposition to him. Besides endeavouring to frustrate his labours by other means, they sent letters to various places in the kingdom of Tanjore, and in Madura, full of false and absurd accusations against the reformer Luther; and they gave orders that if Rajanaiken came thither, the inhabitants should drive him away with cudgels as an heretic. Under certain pretences, they endeavoured to deprive him and his relations of some property which belonged to them, offering, however, to leave them in the peaceable possession of it, if he would only return to the bosom of the Catholic church. As this, however, was a condition to which he would by no means consent, they flocked to the house of his parents, who had likewise embraced the Protestant faith, and broke into



it with such violence, that his brother was wounded in the assault, and his father, an old man, attempting to rescue him out of their hands, was so severely beaten by the ruffians, that he died about two hours after. Attempts were often made on the life of Rajanaiken. One night, two assassins were sent to murder him in his own house, but having, in climbing into it, slightly wounded a man who was there asleep, and whom they took to be the object of their search, they, on his awakening, discovered their mistake, and immediately took to flight. Under these various trials, Rajanaiken, behaved with singular patience and fortitude, and even manifested a remarkable spirit of forgiveness. When urged by his friends to vindicate his right to the property, which the Catholics had unjustly wrested from him and his family, he not only relinquished his own claims, but exhorted his relations to bear their loss with patience, and to seek after a better inheritance in heaven. On another occasion, when one of the Popish catechists, who had been a most violent enemy to the Protestant converts, was taken ill, Rajanaiken not only visited him at his own request, but afforded him pecuniary assistance, and, though he was in want himself, he borrowed money rather than leave his persecutor destitute. \*

Violent, however, as was the opposition of the Roman Catholics to Rajanaiken, their bitterness, instead of frustrating his labours, contributed to their success. By this very means, the knowledge of the Protestant mission was spread farther through the

\* Niecampii Hist. p. 302, 329, 337, 356, 395.



country, and the Catholic converts, as well as the Pagans and Mahommedans, came daily in greater numbers to Tranquebar, to hear the discourses of the missionaries, and to ask for books. In the place where Rajanaiken resided, almost all the Catholic inhabitants were convinced of the truth of the Protestant doctrine, though the dread of their priests deterred them from making a public profession of it. Nor need this be a matter of great surprise, considering the barbarous manner in which the young converts were treated by their relentless persecutors. Sometimes they attempted to stir up their Pagan countrymen against them; sometimes they assaulted them on their journies; sometimes they drove them from their homes; sometimes they beat them most unmercifully; sometimes they robbed, and even nearly murdered them in cold blood. In short, though the missionaries and their converts suffered some measure of opposition from the Pagans and Mahommedans, yet from none did they meet with so much trouble and persecution as from the Roman Catholics. They were even often indebted to Pagan and Mahommedan magistrates for protection from the outrages of men, who called themselves Christians.<sup>s</sup>

Finding, by experience, the great advantage of the native catechists, especially beyond the territory of the Danish East India Company, the missionaries began to pay particular attention to the preparation of some of the converts for this important office. The catechumens now rapidly increased, and of these, a very considerable number usually came

<sup>s</sup> Niecampii Hist. p. 302, *et passim*.



from the country, in consequence of the zealous and faithful labours of the catechists. Many of them declared the foundation of their faith in language at once simple and expressive, though, previous to their conversion, some of them had displayed peculiar animosity to the gospel. The converts from the church of Rome, originally differed little from the Pagans, except that to their extreme ignorance they usually added greater enmity to the truth. Among others there was a woman, who, though she was baptized in her infancy, had been permitted to grow up in heathen darkness, and yet had imbibed from the priests such a violent animosity to the missionaries and their converts, that, when one of the catechists sought to discourse with her on the subject of religion, she put her fingers into her ears, and immediately took to flight, dreading she would bring everlasting damnation upon herself, by hearing the words of a heretic. The catechist, however, by the kindness he manifested to her children, afterwards prevailed on her to stop and hear him, when he was speaking with some other persons. Immediately she formed a strong attachment to the truth; and when she came soon after to Tranquebar, she was not able to express the delight she felt in the gospel, concerning which, though a Christian by profession, she had heard nothing during her whole life. In the course of a few weeks, she brought her husband, who was previously a Pagan, her children, and some other relations, to be baptized. She had even instructed her little boy, who was only two years of age, and was still hanging at her breast, in the principal heads of the catechism, by frequently repeating them to him, so that it was



truly delightful to hear so young an infant lisp the praises of God. <sup>c</sup>

In August 1737, John Antony Sartorius, and John Ernest Geister, who had been labouring for several years at Madras, proceeded from that city to Cuddalore with the view of establishing a branch of the mission in that place, under the auspices of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. Here the inhabitants at first shewed little or no inclination to hear the word; but afterwards, numbers of them not only heard, but embraced the gospel. <sup>u</sup>

In the course of their labours among the heathen, the missionaries had no small difficulties to encounter. To reason with them was scarcely possible, as there were so few common principles admitted by them: or the force of them was evaded by the grossest subterfuges. The Brahmin imagined himself insulted, when told that he was a sinner: other persons of high cast, thought their present rank in life, was a token of their future happiness. The inferior orders, on the contrary, considered their miserable condition in this world, as a proof of their entire reprobation, and would not be persuaded it was possible for them ever to be happy. Nothing was more common, than to hear them acknowledge that the doctrines taught by the missionaries were truth; that the representations of the Brahmins were lies; and, that the Hindoo religion was nothing more, than external pomp and useless shew. They even wished, they said, to embrace the gos-

<sup>c</sup> Niecampii Hist. p. 333, 352.

<sup>u</sup> Meier Missions-Geschichte, p. 45, 65, 165.—Abstract of the Reports of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, p. 70.



pel: but how could they? It was not so written in their forehead, meaning that it was not so determined in the book of fate. Had it been so destined, they would have come of their own accord, and would no longer need any exhortations to embrace the gospel. One day when the missionaries were exhorting some of them to abandon the worship of idols, a woman said in a pitiful tone of voice: "It is true: To run to this and the other idol; to depend on so many gods is useless. You are right in adhering to one God: but that would not do for us. We are far too mean for your excellent doctrine, concerning only one Great God: we are not worth a bass." \* On other occasions, they would say: "It is all very right: but who can live so?" In this idea they were confirmed, by considering the example of their gods, to whom the most impure and unrighteous deeds are ascribed in their sacred books. "We cannot," they naturally enough thought, "be better than our gods: they practise lying, uncleanness, injustice, revenge; these things of course, cannot be criminal in us." Multitudes were so engrossed with the care of the body, that they were scarcely able to form any idea of the necessity of concern for the soul. Some would say, "What shall I do with my children? I shall get no wife for my sons, and no husband for my daughters: My relations and friends will cast me off, and your government will not protect me." Others raised objections to the truth of Christianity: "Who can tell," said they, "whether your religion will at last prove true? Who hath seen God? Who hath

\* The smallest copper coin used in that part of India.



visited heaven or hell? You cannot shew us that the Christians have gone to heaven. Indeed we see no difference in the lives of your own countrymen. They are wicked as well as we. Go and convert them first." Some insulted the missionaries in various forms, assailed them with nicknames, threatened to beat them, or made a jest of the most sacred truths of religion; others refused to listen to them, rose up and went away. <sup>v</sup> \*

But notwithstanding the powerful obstacles which the missionaries had to encounter, they were cheered and animated in their labours, by witnessing, in many instances, the fruit of their exertions. Not a year passed without a considerable number of the natives, both Pagans and Mahommedans, embracing the gospel. Such of the converts as resided beyond the territory of Tranquebar, especially those who were Sooders, were under no small restraints with regard to the profession and exercise of their religion. Many of them were in the service of Pagan masters, and were often obliged to work even on the Lord's day. Few of them comparatively were able to read, and hence they could derive no improvement from books. They lived dispersed through the country, and as there was a want of suitable labourers, they could not obtain that regular instruction which was so necessary to

<sup>v</sup> Neure Geschichte der Evangelischen Missions-Anstalten in Ostindien, tom. i. p. 99, 123, 132, 243, 262, 264, 410.

\* Some of these examples are taken from the history of the mission at a later period; but as the objections of the Hindoos to Christianity, have always been nearly the same, we have thrown them together in this place, in order to give some general idea of their apologies for neglecting the gospel.



persons in their situation. The missionaries, indeed, visited them as often as possible, but they had not yet liberty to settle among them. The native pastors who were ordained over the country congregations, travelled regularly among them; the catechists, who were appointed to assist them, went, each over his own district, once or twice a month; and they so arranged matters among them, that on the Sabbath divine worship was performed in all the principal places. <sup>w</sup>

In the preparation of the candidates for baptism, the missionaries employed the most exemplary care. When any begged to have their names inserted in the list of catechumens, they were taken under the immediate inspection of the catechists and missionaries, and instructed in the principles of religion. In this *general* preparation, sometimes several months, or even a whole year, and in some instances, a still longer period was employed, according to the circumstances of the case. Many who were of an untractable disposition and of uncultivated manners, it was no easy matter to reduce even to external good order. Some also, on account of their extreme old age, or the want of health, or other circumstances, could not learn much, nor even express in words what they had learned. If during the period of probation, they were diligent in the use of the external means of grace, and manifested a serious concern about their souls, they were then taken under more special instruction. In this *particular* preparation, four or five weeks were generally employed; but sometimes

<sup>w</sup> Niecampii Hist. p. 454.



it was necessary to shorten this period with regard to those who came from the country, as it often happened they could not remain so long at Tranquebar. In these cases, the time appointed for their preparation was improved with so much the greater diligence; and in some instances they were made to promise to come again for further instruction. In general, none were admitted to baptism, or received into the church, who were defective in the knowledge of the gospel, or whose life did not correspond with their profession. \*

Besides instructing the Christian converts in spiritual things, the missionaries had to attend to their temporal concerns. Such of the catechumens as came from places beyond the Danish territory, it was necessary to support during the period of their preparation, as they were employed the whole day in learning the catechism, and receiving instruction. Those who lived in the town did not occasion so much expense, yet it was necessary to allow something even to them, as during the time of their preparation, they were detained part of the day from their usual avocations. Besides, the missionaries were at considerable expense in providing the converts with the means of honestly gaining a livelihood for themselves and their families, by the labour of their hands. Such as had formerly been employed in a lawful calling were encouraged still to pursue it; but as all their Pagan friends and acquaintance usually deserted them when they embraced Christianity, it was often necessary to supply them with a little money to assist them in car-

\* Niecampii Hist. p. 456.



rying it on. This was an expense, however, which diminished in proportion as the gospel spread through the country, and as the smaller congregations became united together. <sup>y</sup> \*

Though there is an appearance of something mechanical in the operations of the missionaries on the coast of Coromandel, yet they were by no means satisfied with making the converts Christians in name, but were anxious to cultivate among them the spirit of vital religion. Many of the converts, indeed, gave most pleasing evidence of a work of grace in their hearts. Their fixed attention in hearing the word; their fervent affectionate prayers; their resignation to the will of God in seasons of trial; their struggle against temptation; their meekness under injuries; their love toward their enemies; their concern for the conversion of others, particularly of their own countrymen, testified in the clearest manner, the happy change which had taken place upon them. There was often something very pleasing in their simple unaffected declarations.

<sup>y</sup> Niecampii Hist. p. 458.

\* The practice of supporting the catechumens during the period of their preparation, is now given up, as it was found that many, particularly in seasons of scarcity, desired instruction, not for the sake of learning the things which belonged to their everlasting peace, but merely to get a supply of their temporal necessities; and on obtaining this, they went away and were never more heard of. The missionaries therefore made a new regulation, by which they agreed to give no assistance to such as lived in the town, except in very urgent cases. Those from distant places, they instruct in the forenoon, order them to work in the afternoon, and then give them the usual portion.—*Transactions of the Missionary Society*, vol. ii. p. 183.



One day, a woman said: "My heathen darkness is now dispelled, and light hath dawned upon me. Henceforth, God is better to me, than father and mother, and all relations. Heaven is my native country. May he take me entirely to himself!" On another occasion, when some of the converts were catechised in the presence of their heathen neighbours, one of them said: "It is of God's unmerited grace, that I have been brought to the knowledge of him. He is now my father, and I am his child. How could I exchange this privilege for all the treasures of the world! Ah! never. What would feeble lifeless idols be to me now? I have a God who is Almighty, and who liveth for ever and ever. While I live I will cleave to him; and when I die, he will take me to himself; and then I shall live eternally with him." But, while many of the converts afforded the most satisfactory evidence of a work of grace in their hearts, there were others, who lost the serious impressions which had once been made upon them. Some acted no better than the heathen around them, and even joined in the processions of their idols.<sup>z</sup>

In September 1746, the French captured the city of Madras, after a short siege of six days. The new governor having ordered several streets of the Black Town, to be razed to the ground, with the view of placing the city in a better state of defence, the house of the missionaries was demolished among others, and the church was converted into a magazine. As long as Madras remained in the hands of the French, Mr. Fabricius, the missionary, carried

<sup>z</sup> Meier Missions-Geschichte, p. 36, 103, 349, 433.



on his labours at Palliacatta, a town in the neighbourhood, to which he had previously removed the children; but on the restoration of peace, he returned to that city, after an absence of near three years. In consequence of the destruction of the mission buildings, they were for sometime very ill accommodated; but, they at length, obtained a grant from government of an excellent dwelling-house, a fine spacious church, a large garden, and a burying ground in the neighbouring village of Vepery, which had belonged to the Catholic missionaries, but which, on account of their treasonable practices, had been taken from them, and confiscated.<sup>a</sup>

In 1752, and several of the following years, the missionaries, particularly at Cuddalore, were materially impeded in their operations, as they were unable to perform their usual journies through the country in consequence of the war which still raged between the French and English in India, and in which, several of the native princes took an active part. The Mahrattas, in particular, who sided with France, made frequent inroads into the country, and spread terror and devastation wherever they came. The whole land, in fact, was ruined by them. With their fleet horses, they made sudden eruptions into the country, surprised the defenceless inhabitants, and cut them in pieces without distinction of age or sex. Terrified by their dreadful atrocities, the people on the first notice of their approach, abandoned their houses and fled. Parents sometimes killed their infant children

<sup>a</sup> Meier Missions-Geschichte, p. 249, 265, 353.



when they would not hold their peace, lest their cries should discover them to the merciless foe. In some villages not a creature remained: all were either killed, or had fled, or were carried away prisoners. To these calamities, were, at length, added the horrors of famine. For several years the husbandman enjoyed little or no return for the corn which he sowed, as the enemy either destroyed the whole, or reaped it as soon as it was ripe. Besides in one year, there was a deficiency of rain; and afterwards, it fell in such torrents, and was accompanied with such violent winds, that it proved no less destructive than the previous drought. In these calamities the Christian converts deeply participated; many of them were destitute not only of the comforts, but even of the necessaries of life. Cuddalore, at length, fell into the hands of the French, and the missionaries retired with most of the congregation to Tranquebar. Madras was once more besieged by the enemy, and the missionaries in that quarter were completely plundered by them.<sup>b</sup>

In September 1758, Mr. Kiernander, one of the missionaries who had lately retired from Cuddalore, proceeded to Calcutta, with the view of establishing a branch of the mission in that city. Here he prosecuted his labours with unwearied zeal, and with considerable success. Mr. Hutteman, his colleague at Cuddalore, returned afterwards to that station; and it appears that his labours in that place were not in vain. Among other instances of his success, the conversion of a Pandaram named Arunasalam,

<sup>b</sup> Meier Missions-Geschichte, p. 361, 368, 379, 395, 445, 448, 451.



is not unworthy of notice. He was a priest of the sect of Isuren, a man of the highest cast, of a sound judgment, and of great learning. Having been taught from his infancy the doctrine of a future state of existence, he had even in early life been concerned about his soul; and when only fourteen years of age, he resolved not only to become a priest of Isuren, but to visit all the holy pagodas, and to wash in their sacred water in the hope of obtaining salvation. With the view of becoming a distinguished Pandaram, he placed himself under the tuition of one of the most celebrated priests in that part of the country, and under him he prosecuted his studies during a period of five years. By degrees, however, he was shocked with the absurdity and obscenity of the Hindoo system; and he began to suspect that a mode of worship so foolish and corrupt could not proceed from a wise and holy Being, who delighted in innocence and virtue. In this state of mind he came to Cuddalore, and having heard the gospel of Christ, it not only approved itself to his understanding, but spoke peace to his conscience and his heart. He now forsook the religion of his ancestors, and made a profession of Christianity, upon which the College of Pandarams at Tarmaburam in the kingdom of Tanjore, sent him the following curious letter.

“The grace of Siwen, the creator, redeemer, and destroyer, be effectual in the soul of Arunasalam. If you inquire into the reasons of our writing this letter to you, know then: You were on a journey to the holy place of Cashy, and behold, by the cunning fraud of that arch enemy, the Devil, your great wisdom and understanding have been so blind-



ed, that you were not ashamed to go at Cuddalore to the low and base nation of Franks and Europeans, who are no better than the Pariars, and that to hear and be instructed in their despicable religion. Oh, into what amazement were we thrown on hearing this! The moment we heard it, we met in the divine presence \* of the head of the sacred College of Pandarams, and consulted on this event. Indeed we are sunk in an ocean of sorrow. It is needless to write many words on the subject, to a man of your understanding. Did you belong to the cursed populace, many words might be necessary. Remember, Arunasalam, your change is like a king turning Pariar. What have you wanted amongst us? Had you not honour and subsistence sufficient? It is inconceivable what could induce you to bring such a stain on the character of a Pandaram. We must impute this misfortune that has befallen you, to a crime that you have committed against God in some former generation. † Consider, Arunasalam, the noble blood of the Tondamar, from whence you sprang. You associate yourself to the basest people, who eat the flesh of cows and bullocks. Can any wisdom be amongst them? The moment you receive this letter return again to this place; may Siwen give you understanding.

\* These Pandarams are so exceedingly proud, that they consider themselves as a kind of gods, and have persuaded the people to look upon them as such. They are commonly saluted Tanhiran, god.

† The Tamulians believe in the doctrine of transmigration for seven generations. When a misfortune befalls them, they impute it to some sin committed they know not how, in a former generation.



“ This is the divine Oracle, written at the command of his Holiness the Head of the Pandarams at Tarmaburam.”

To this letter Arunasalam returned a reply, of which the following is an extract :

“ The grace of Parabara Wastu, Jehovah the living God, the blessed Creator and Preserver of the universe, fill the souls of all the Pandarams at Tarmaburam. I have received your letter, and have read the contents with sincere compassion. Will you know the reason? It is this : You have unaccountably forsaken the living God, the eternal Creator of all that exists ; and have given the honour due to him to the creature. You think yourselves wise, though fallen into the most dreadful foolishness. You worship the Devil, the arch-enemy of all that is good. You give divine honour to men who were born of father and mother, and who, during their life, have been notorious fornicators, adulterers, rogues, and murderers. In your religious books are related the obscenest facts, whereby lust, the fire of Satan, is furiously kindled in an instant. My heart melts within me. I weep over you. Fourteen years have I been witness of your infamous worship in your pagodas ; and I am in my conscience convinced, that you are on the road that leads directly to hell and eternal ruin. How holy, how majestic is God, as described in the sacred books of the Christians? You call them a base and ignorant people, but this is owing to your pride, which cometh from that proud spirit Satan. Come, my dear friends, and worship with me the God who made you. Be not deceived to expiate your sin by the washing and sacrifice of Lingam : the Christians



alone have an expiatory sacrifice worthy of God. When I think on your blindness, my heart pities you. You know the integrity of my life; you never heard scandal of me. Could you then think I would renounce the religion of my fathers, without conviction of its falsehood and dreadful tendency? The God of infinite compassion hath delivered me, a wretched sinner, out of the captivity of the devil. Your promises of honour and riches touch me not. I have the hopes of an everlasting kingdom: You also may inherit it if you will repent. I have changed my religion, but not my cast. By becoming a Christian, I did not turn an Englishman: I am still a Tondaman. Never did the priest of this place desire of me any thing contrary to my cast. Never did he bid me eat cow-flesh, neither have I seen him eat it, or any of the Tamulian Christians, though such a thing is not in itself sinful. Turn to the living God: So writeth Arunasalam, formerly a Pandaram, but now a disciple of the blessed Jesus.”<sup>c</sup>

In May 1762, Christian Frederick Swartz, visited Trichinapoly, and from this period, began to make it the principal place of his residence. This distinguished man, who for near half a century was one of the brightest ornaments of the cause of Christ in India, came to Tranquebar about twelve years before. Entirely devoted to the work in which he had embarked, he early resolved on a life of celibacy, that he might not be encumbered with domestic cares, and might direct his sole at-

<sup>c</sup> Meier Missions-Geschichte, p. 470, 480, 496.—Rep. Christ. Know. Soc. p. 88.



tention to the duties of his station. He appears, indeed, to have been decidedly hostile to the marriage of missionaries, especially during the first years of their ministry, as being likely to interfere with the acquisition of the language, and with the diligent performance of the duties of their office; and though in this sentiment, Mr. Swartz is rather singular, yet certainly, the opinion of such a man, is worthy of the serious consideration of candidates for missionary labours, especially when viewed in connexion with the doctrine of the Apostle Paul on the subject of marriage.<sup>d</sup> \*

After settling at Tritchinapoly, Mr. Swartz prosecuted his evangelical labours with indefatigable zeal, travelling daily with his catechists into the neighbouring villages, and making known the gospel to all who would listen to it. It was not, indeed, his practice, nor that of any of the missionaries, to deliver regular sermons to the people; but they entered into conversation with them on the subject of religion, shewing them the absurdity of idolatry, and pointing them to Christ as the only Saviour. Besides labouring among the natives, Mr. Swartz took charge of the English garrison in the fort of Tritchinapoly, and on this account was allowed one hundred pounds a year by the Madras government; but, with his usual disinterestedness, he devoted the greater part of this sum to missionary purposes. In

<sup>d</sup> Meier Missions-Geschichte, p. 318.—Missionary Register, vol. i. p. 305, 346.

\* See 1 Corinth. vii. On this subject the reader will also find some excellent observations in Baxters Christian Directory, part ii. p. 3.



the breast of this excellent man, the love of money had no place. Except when objects of charity reminded him of his poverty, he considered the wealth of this world, but as the dust of his feet.<sup>e</sup>

In November 1768, Manuel Jotze da Costa, a friar of the Dominican order, was received into the congregation at Madras, after making a public recantation of the errors of Popery, and a solemn profession of the Protestant faith. He was a native of Portugal, and after spending near seven years at Goa, he proceeded to Diu on the coast of Guzzerat, where he was invested with the authority of an inquisitor. Having been afterwards sent to Siam, he began to entertain doubts respecting some of the dogmas of the Church of Rome, particularly the prohibition to read the Word of God. Here he became acquainted with Antonio Rodrigues, a Father of the Jesuit order, who felt a similar dissatisfaction with the faith in which he had been educated. He now for the first time in his life, obtained into his hands a copy of the Bible in Latin; and after some time, he procured among other books, a Catechism published at Tranquebar, which afforded him much light relative to the agreement of the doctrines of the Reformation with the word of God.

Meanwhile, Father Rodrigues was so convinced of the errors of the Church of Rome, that he withdrew from her communion, and placed himself under the protection of the Dutch, who at that time, had a factory in Siam. In consequence of this, he was excommunicated by his brethren, and an order was received from Goa, to deliver him up to the in-

<sup>e</sup> Neure Geschichte, tom. i. p. 233.—Miss. Reg. vol. i. p. 347.



quisition. This commission was addressed to Father Costa; but as his friend was now connected with the Dutch, he had a plausible apology for not carrying it into execution. Afterwards, when Rodrigues was dying, one of the Jesuits visited him, and promised him the removal of the sentence of excommunication, and complete absolution, if he would return to the Church of Rome, and submit to extreme unction. This offer, it was reported, he rejected; nevertheless the Fathers pretended that he had returned to the bosom of the church, and buried him with great pomp.

Hitherto, Father Costa had carefully concealed the change in his sentiments, but notwithstanding all his caution, it was discovered by his brethren. One day as he lay sick in bed, another friar of the Dominican order came upon him by surprise, and opening his writing table, found a paper, in which were noted many of the errors of the Church of Rome. This manuscript he took with him, together with his heretical books; and as in the absence of a bishop, every Father is invested with authority to deliver up an apostate brother to the inquisition, he sent him on board a vessel bound to Goa. Father Costa, however, found means to leave the ship, and afterwards came to the coast of Coromandel; but though he wished to join the Protestant Church, he wanted the decision of mind necessary for so important a step. His intercourse with the missionaries was only occasional, and was long carried on in a covert manner. After many struggles, however, he broke through all difficulties, and joined the congregation at Madras. He was now anxious to return to Siam, with the view of taking charge



of a number of Portuguese whom he had secretly instructed in the principles of evangelical religion, and in the hope of extending still farther the light of divine truth in that benighted country. In consequence however, of the infirm state of his health, he was unable to prosecute his design, and after a lingering illness of near a twelvemonth, he died at Calcutta.

Besides Father Costa, there were three other Catholic priests, who about this period, renounced the errors of Popery, and joined the congregation at Calcutta. One of them had been upwards of fifteen years a missionary in Bengal, and another about four years at Bassora.<sup>f</sup> These facts are the more worthy of notice, because they induce a hope, that among the missionaries of the church of Rome, there may have been numbers of others, who by reading the scriptures, amidst the privations and trials which they suffered in a heathen land, and free from the pernicious influence and example of their brethren, may have acquired correct views of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, and may have disseminated among the inhabitants, not the fooleries of Popery, but the principles of evangelical religion.

To shew the extensive scale on which the mission was now conducted, it may not be improper to give in this place, a general view of the different stations about this period.

In 1775, there were in the TRANQUEBAR station, six missionaries, three native preachers, twenty-four catechists and assistants, ten schoolmasters, and three schoolmistresses. In the town and neighbourhood there were three churches, and in the

<sup>f</sup> Neure Geschichte, tom. i. 65, 299, 771, 1074, 1363.



country six places of worship. The different congregations were this year increased with 421 new members, including the children of the converts, and proselytes from the church of Rome. The number of schools was ten, in which were 355 boys and girls, who were not only educated but clothed and supported by the missionaries, besides other children, who were maintained by their friends, and merely enjoyed the benefit of instruction.

At MADRAS there were two missionaries, who had under their care two congregations, the Tamul and the Portuguese. In the course of this year, they were augmented with 141 new members. In the school there were 40 children, who were not only educated, but supported at the expense of the mission.

At CUDDALORE there were two missionaries: the congregation was this year increased with 74 new members: and in the school there were 64 children.

At CALCUTTA there were two missionaries, who had under their care two congregations, the English and the Portuguese. In the course of this year, they were augmented with 67 new members. In the schools there were 104 children, many of whom were maintained as well as educated at the expense of the mission.

At TRITCHINAPOLY there was only one missionary; but with him were associated no fewer than eleven catechists, schoolmasters and other assistants, two of whom were Europeans. The congregation was this year increased with 206 new members. In the English and Tamul schools, there were 70 children.

At TANJORE no missionary as yet resided; but there had long been a congregation in that city. It



was frequently visited by Mr. Swartz and his catechists, and within a few years, it became the principal place of his residence.

From this statement it appears that the mission consisted of five principal branches; that in the different stations, there were thirteen missionaries, and upwards of fifty native assistants; that the several congregations were in one year, augmented with no fewer than 909 new members, and that in the schools there were 633 children.<sup>g</sup>

In 1779, Mr. Swartz received an unexpected summons to repair immediately to Madras, and on his arrival, he was informed by Sir Thomas Rumbold, the governor, that the British government were anxious to maintain peace with Hyder Ally; but that he, from misconceiving their views, appeared to entertain hostile designs toward them; that it was their wish, he would proceed in a private manner to Seringapatam, and undeceive him by a fair declaration of their pacific sentiments, while at the same time, he should endeavour to ascertain what were his intentions. Mr. Swartz was surprised at this proposal, and begged sometime for consideration and prayer. As the only object of it appeared to be the preservation of peace, he after some reflection, acceded to it, especially as he hoped in travelling through the country, to have an opportunity of making known the gospel to multitudes who had never before heard of the Saviour.

Having proceeded to Seringapatam, Mr. Swartz was received by Hyder Ally in a friendly manner. Agreeably to his instructions, he stated to him the

<sup>g</sup> Neure Geschichte, tom. ii. p. 3, 256, 329, 461, 470.



pacific views of the Madras government: The usurper in return, explained his own sentiments with apparent frankness, complained of the treachery of the English, and charged them with having broken their most solemn engagements; but declared that he was still willing to maintain peace with them. After Mr. Swartz had taken leave of him, Hyder sent to his palanquin, a bag containing three hundred rupees to pay the expenses of his journey; but as he had been provided with whatever was necessary by the Board at Madras, he delivered it to them, and when they urged him to keep it, he asked their permission to employ it as the commencement of a fund for an English charity school at Tanjore, in the hope that some benevolent individuals might increase it with their contributions.<sup>h</sup>

But though Mr. Swartz had undertaken this journey to the court of Hyder, with the view of averting from the country, the calamities of war, he soon perceived from the conduct of the governor of Madras, that peace would be of short continuance,<sup>i</sup> a circumstance which shews with what extreme caution a Christian missionary should interfere in political affairs, lest, while he flatters himself that he is the instrument of promoting the happiness of nations, he should prove merely the tool of unprincipled designing men.

In July 1780, Hyder Ally, provoked by the perfidy and aggressions of the Madras government, invaded the Carnatic, at the head of an army of a

<sup>h</sup> Neure Geschichte, tom. iii. p. 283.—Rep. Christ. Know. Soc. p. 224.

<sup>i</sup> Neure Geschichte, tom. iii. p. 515.



hundred thousand men. In the course of the conflict which ensued, the most dreadful atrocities were committed by both the belligerent powers. The whole country was laid waste: the towns and villages were burnt to ashes; the inhabitants plundered and put to the sword. To the calamities of war, were, in a short time, added the horrors of famine. As the sluices which supply the country with water, were destroyed by Hyder's troops; and as the inhabitants had no security for the crop, they did not sow their fields, and of course they could reap no harvest. The people, indeed, forsook the country, and fled to the larger towns, particularly to Tranquebar, which was so full of strangers, that a moderate lodging for a family, cost a thousand rix-dollars a year. Here the scarcity rose at length to such a height, that people died daily of hunger in the streets; the government was obliged to appoint some persons to carry the dead bodies out of the town and bury them. Before the doors and windows of the inhabitants, stood crowds of people famishing for want, and crying for rice. To alleviate the general distress, the missionaries and other benevolent individuals, distributed provisions among them. The whole street, on such occasions, was filled with hundreds of these victims of famine, whose impetuosity could be restrained only by a guard of seapoys, laying about them with blows: in the confusion they threw one another to the ground, and seized the rice out of each others' hands. No individual benevolence, however, could relieve the general distress. A subscription was therefore raised among the more opulent inhabitants for the relief of the poor: one of the missionaries was appointed



to receive the contributions: two of the native Christians were chosen to oversee the distribution of the rice; and some seapoys were present to maintain order. At one time, the number of poor amounted to twelve hundred, many of whom were little better than skeletons, covered only with a slender skin. Scarcely able to stand on their feet, and to preserve their balance, they tottered like children along the street. Many sunk down from absolute weakness, remained under the rays of a burning sun, or lay in the rain and died. Some were led or carried to the spot where the provisions were distributed: the sick and weary lay at the place, and received their miserable pittance twice a day. It was truly deplorable, to behold the bodies of the dead lying in the streets, many of which were devoured by dogs, and birds of prey, and other ravenous animals, before they were found and buried by those appointed to collect them. One day, one of the missionaries saw within about two hundred feet, no fewer than sixteen dead bodies lying in the streets. More died of unwholesome food, than even of absolute hunger. Here and there, might be seen some of these wretched creatures, sitting on dunghills, picking up any little particles of food they could discover. Others might be seen devouring bones, shells, horns of young animals, the leather of palanquins, the leaves of trees, grass, roots, and even pure earth. In Pondicherry and Negapatnam, there were examples of mothers eating their own children: others, scarcely less cruel, abandoned them in the streets, and left them to perish, without ever inquiring after them, or allowing them a particle of that food which they procured



for themselves. Even the distinction of casts, in this season of universal distress, was little regarded. The Brahmins mingled with the Pariars: persons of all religions, flocked together, to the same spot, Christians, Mahommedans, and Heathens. Many begged to be taken as slaves: Parents of the highest classes, offered to sell their children for a mere trifle, but offered them in vain.

These horrid scenes were general over the whole country, particularly in all the larger towns, to which the people flocked for safety. All business was at an end: whole families perished; it seemed as if the country would be completely depopulated, by disease, by famine, and by war.<sup>k</sup>

In April 1782, the town of Cuddalore capitulated to the enemy; and on this occasion, Mr. Gericke, the missionary at that place, rendered some essential services to the cause of humanity. He prevailed with the French General not to deliver up the town to the troops of Hyder Ally, and thus was instrumental in preserving it from the devastations of these infernal marauders. He concealed in his own house, seven of the English officers, whom Admiral Suffrein had engaged to surrender to the tyrant, and by this means, saved them from imprisonment, and from all that horrid train of miseries, in which many others were involved, who fell into his hands. The Admiral's secretary, who had been severely wounded in a late naval engagement, he kept for a considerable time in his own house, and took care of him, at great expense to himself, as if he had been his

<sup>k</sup> Memoirs of the late War in Asia, vol. i. p. 134, 138, 172, 413.—Neure Geschichte, tom. iii. p. 59, 76, 118, 130, 258, 320, 406, 423, 453.



friend or brother. In the meanwhile, however, the church was converted into a magazine, and the mission garden was entirely destroyed. Mr. Gericke, therefore, performed divine worship in the school, or in his own house; but after a few months he proceeded to Madras; and though he wished to return, yet for the present he could find no opportunity. From that period, Cuddalore ceased to be one of the principal branches of the mission: there was still a small congregation at that place; but it was only occasionally the residence of a missionary.<sup>1</sup>

These were not the only instances in which the missionaries were useful in alleviating the calamities of this dreadful period. The services of Mr. Swartz in this respect, place the utility of the mission even in a political view, in a very striking light, and furnish a fine example of the influence of Christian integrity in commanding the respect and confidence of mankind.

Soon after the commencement of hostilities, the fort of Tanjore was reduced to the greatest distress. A powerful enemy was at hand, the people in the fort numerous, and not provision, even for the garrison. The seapoys dropped down dead emaciated with hunger; the streets were every morning lined with corpses; the condition of the place was truly deplorable. There was grain enough in the country; but the inhabitants would neither bring it themselves, nor send in their bullocks, as when they formerly brought paddy into the fort, the rapacious dubashes denied them full payment. In vain did the Rajah order; in vain did he entreat them to

<sup>1</sup> Neure Geschichte, tom. iii. p. 334, 409, 698.



come to his assistance. They had no confidence either in him or his courtiers. He at last said to one of the principal English gentlemen who were with him: "We have all lost our credit with the people: let us try whether they will trust Mr. Swartz." Being empowered by the Rajah to treat with the people, Mr. Swartz immediately sent letters to the whole of the surrounding district, promising to pay every man with his own hands, who should come to the relief of the fort, and to indemnify them for any bullock that might be taken by the enemy. Having in the course of one or two days, obtained upwards of a thousand bullocks, he sent some of the Christian converts into the neighbouring country to purchase corn. It was at the risk of their lives that they went, yet such were their exertions, that in a short time, they brought into the fort 80,000 kalams. By this means, the place was saved, and the miseries of the inhabitants relieved for the present. Having accomplished this important object, Mr. Swartz, agreeably to his promise, paid the people with his own hands, made them a small present, and sent them to their homes.

The following year, the fort of Tanjore was reduced a second time, to the same miserable condition, as the enemy always invaded the country when the harvest was nigh at hand. Mr. Swartz was desired to repeat the experiment, and succeeded as before. Knowing they would be regularly paid, the people came with their cattle; and though the danger was now greater than formerly, as the enemy was just at hand, yet the Christians conducted the



inhabitants of the country to proper stations, and in this manner supplied the fort with grain.<sup>m</sup>

It is a circumstance not unworthy of notice, that even Hyder Ally, in the midst of this cruel and vindictive war, gave orders to his officers “to permit the venerable Father Swartz to pass unmolested, and to shew him respect and kindness for he is a holy man, and means no harm to my government.”<sup>n</sup> Such, indeed, was the high estimation in which he was held, that Colonel Fullarton assures us, “the knowledge and integrity of this irreproachable missionary, had retrieved the character of Europeans from the imputation of general depravity.”<sup>o</sup> These testimonies from a Mahommedan monarch, and from a military officer, given under circumstances which preclude every idea of partiality or prepossession, convey an eulogium on the character of Mr. Swartz, which far exceeds the highest panegyric we could bestow.

In 1784, several of the native assistants were sent by the missionaries to Palamcottah with the view of spreading Christianity in the southern part of the peninsula of India. Several years before, when Mr. Swartz was in that quarter of the country, the widow of a Brahmin applied to him for baptism; but as she then lived as the concubine of an English officer, he informed her, that as long as she maintained that criminal connexion, he could not comply with her request. It appears, however, that the officer had privately promised to marry her; and in the meanwhile, he instructed her in

<sup>m</sup> Rep. Christ. Know. Soc. p. 402.

<sup>n</sup> Buchanan's Apology for promoting Christianity in India.

<sup>o</sup> Fullarton's View of English interests in India, p. 183.



the English language, and even in the principles of Christianity. After his death, she renewed her application to Mr. Swartz, and as her conduct was now perfectly correct, he baptized her by the name of Clarinda. She continued to reside in the South of India; but about the time of the conclusion of the war, she and two Roman Catholic Christians from the same quarter of the country, came to Tanjore to visit Mr. Swartz. One of these persons had obtained a copy of the New Testament, and of the Ecclesiastical History published by the missionaries, which he read with so much effect, that he was not only convinced himself of the errors of the Church of Rome, but testified against them so strongly among his neighbours and acquaintances, that many of them were much impressed by his representations. He and his fellow traveller now visited Tanjore, in order to beg in the name of these poor people, that a missionary, or one of the priests, might come and instruct them more perfectly in the principles of religion. In consequence of this application, several of the native assistants successively proceeded to that part of the country, and in the course of a short time, they received into the church, upwards of a hundred people in the neighbourhood of Palamcottah, some of whom were previously heathens, others Roman Catholics. Such was the commencement of the congregations in the South of India, which since that period, have become so numerous. <sup>P</sup>

Though peace was now restored to the country, the kingdom of Tanjore was still doomed to suffer

<sup>P</sup> Neure Geschichte, tom. iii. p. 756, 773, 789, 1025, 1028.



fresh calamities. The inhabitants were so terribly oppressed by their rulers, that they emigrated from the country in great numbers: whole towns and villages were left desolate: few people remained to cultivate the land. The operations of agriculture should commence in the month of June; but nothing was done, even in the beginning of September. Sir Archibald Campbell the governor of Madras, dreading that this emigration would terminate in a famine, appointed a committee of four gentlemen to examine into the management of the country, and requested Mr. Swartz to act as one of the members. This excellent man had already manifested his anxiety for the happiness of the people by entreating the Rajah to take pity upon them; and though his entreaties were disregarded, he now shewed an equal concern for the interests of the prince. Perceiving that if the committee proceeded to issue orders in their own name, the authority of the Rajah in the country would be lessened, he begged them not to enter on business, until he should represent to him the absolute necessity of administering justice to his people, and of removing those oppressions under which they groaned. The Rajah was now alarmed, and yielded to Mr. Swartz's representations, though it was evidently with extreme reluctance. He himself, had sent notice to the people, that justice should be done them; but they placed no confidence in his promises. He therefore engaged to Mr. Swartz to treat his subjects with kindness, and begged him to invite them back, not in the name of the Committee, but in his own name, as one who was the common friend of the prince and the



people. With this request Mr. Swartz was happy to comply, and such was the confidence of the people in his integrity, that they immediately returned: seven thousand men came back in one day, and the rest in a short time followed their example. When he exhorted them to make the utmost exertions in cultivating their lands as the season was almost lost, they replied: "As you have shewn kindness to us, you shall not have reason to repent of it: We intend to work night and day to manifest our regard to you." They accordingly exerted themselves to such a degree, that, though the season was now so far advanced, they had a more abundant crop than the year before.<sup>a</sup>

In January 1787, the Rajah of Tanjore, who had lost all his own children, adopted as his successor, a youth of a noble family, who was only nine or ten years of age. A few days before his death, he called for Mr. Swartz, and pointing to the prince, said: "My adopted son, I deliver up to you: I appoint you to be his guardian." Such an appointment an ambitious man would have accepted with joy; but Mr. Swartz, with his usual disinterestedness, replied: "You know, Sir, my willingness to serve you, according to my small ability; but to comply with this, your last request, is beyond my power. You have adopted a child of nine years of age, and you now leave him as a garden without a fence. You know there are different parties in your palace, who aspire to the government of the country: The boy will be in danger of his life,

<sup>a</sup> Rep. Christ. Know. Soc. p. 254, 405.—Neure Geschichte, tom. iii. p. 1154, 1157.



and the kingdom will be involved in confusion. I may see him once or twice in a month; and may give him my best advice; but I can scarcely do more. What poor guardianship will this be! It is necessary you adopt some other plan." By the advice of Mr. Swartz, the dying prince accordingly appointed his own brother the guardian of the child; but this arrangement was over-ruled by the British government. Ameer Sing himself, the brother of the Rajah, was for the present invested with the sovereign authority; but after some years, he was removed, and Serfogee, the young prince, was raised to the throne.

In 1793, when a bill was passing through the British Parliament for the renewal of the East India Company's charter, certain clauses were proposed in favour of free schools and Christian missionaries; but at that time they were rejected. In the course of a debate on this subject, Mr. Montgomery Campbell, threw out some severe reflections on the character of the converts on the coast of Coromandel, and even reprobated the idea of converting the Hindoos. Missionaries, he said, had made proselytes of the Pariars; but they were the lowest order of the people, and had degraded the religion they professed to embrace. Mr. Swartz, whose character was so deservedly high, had no reason to boast of the purity of his followers: they were proverbial for their profligacy. An example occurred to his recollection perfectly in point. Mr. Swartz had been preaching for many hours to some

<sup>r</sup> Neure Geschichte, tom. iii. p. 1101, 1390.—Rep. Christ. Know. Soc. p. 258.



of his proselytes on the heinousness of theft; and in the heat of his discourse had taken off his stock, when it and his gold buckle, were stolen by one of his virtuous and enlightened congregation. Such was the description of natives who embraced Christianity. Men of high cast would spurn at the idea of renouncing the religion of their ancestors.

This story we should scarcely have thought worth noticing, unless as an example of the little dependance which is to be placed on the accounts given of missionaries, by persons who are indifferent or hostile to the propagation of Christianity among the heathen. There was not a word of truth in the whole statement. It may not, therefore, be improper to give a correct account of the story which Mr. Campbell considered as so perfectly in point, but which he so grievously misrepresented.

Early one morning as Mr. Swartz was travelling to Tanjore, he arrived at a village called Pudaloor, which was inhabited by Collaries, a set of men so infamous for stealing, that the name Collary, signifies a thief. They were even a kind of licensed robbers, as they paid annually 750 pagodas to the Rajah as a compensation for the outrages they committed. Having taken off his stock, and laid it on a sand-bank, he advanced a short way to look for the man who carried his clothes. In the meanwhile, the stock disappeared; it was stolen by some boys belonging to the village. The elder inhabitants had no concern in the theft, and on hearing of it, they even desired Mr. Swartz to confine all the boys, and to punish them as severely as he pleased; but he did not think the trifle he had lost, worth so much trouble. It is surely not



wonderful, that boys, whose fathers were professed robbers, should commit a paltry theft of this description. There was not one Christian family in the whole village: all the inhabitants were heathens. The trifle of a buckle, therefore, Mr. Swartz did not lose by any of the Christian converts, as Mr. Campbell asserted, but by some heathen boys. Neither did he preach at that time, though that gentleman alleged, he preached many hours, and, that too, on the heinousness of theft. He did not so much as converse with any man on the subject of religion. Mr. Campbell on finding that Mr. Swartz had so completely confuted his misrepresentations, wrote an apology to him, and excused himself by saying, that his speech had been erroneously reported in the newspapers! <sup>s</sup>

It is not unworthy of observation, that only a few months before Mr. Campbell brought forward these charges against the converts on the coast of Coromandel, a considerable reformation had been effected through the instrumentality of Mr. Swartz, among that very class of people whom he had stigmatized as Christian thieves. As the Collaries had of late committed terrible outrages in their plundering expeditions, Government after sending among them a number of seapoys without effect, applied to Mr. Swartz to inquire into their thievish transactions. By his desire, the chiefs of the robbers appeared before him, and not only agreed to make restitution of the stolen property, but promised in writing, to steal no more. This engagement they kept faithfully for eight months; but

<sup>s</sup> Rep. Christ. Know. Soc. p. 396, 464.



they then commenced their old trade, though not to the same extent as before. By desire of some of them, Mr. Swartz at last began to instruct them; and when they had acquired a tolerable knowledge of the principles of Christianity, he baptized them. He now exhorted them to steal no more, but to work with their own hands: and when he afterwards visited them, he was happy to find their fields under excellent cultivation. "Now," said he, "one thing remains to be done: You must pay your tribute readily, and not wait till it is exacted by military force." Such had hitherto been their ordinary practice; but now they paid it without compulsion. The only complaint against them, was, that they refused to go on plundering expeditions, as they had done before. The Pagan Collaries even assembled together, and formed an encampment, threatening to extirpate Christianity out of the country; but after this commotion had lasted four months, they returned to their homes in peace, and began to cultivate their fields with more diligence than ever. As the water courses in that part of the country had not been cleansed for fifteen years, in consequence of which, the cultivation of the land was impeded, and the crop diminished, Mr. Swartz had of late, proposed that the collector should advance money to clear them, and promised to send people to inspect the work. This was attended with so much success, that the inhabitants, instead of one kalam of corn, reaped four. In that district alone, the people raised near a hundred thousand kalams more than they had done before.

<sup>c</sup> Rep. Christ. Know. Soc. p. 386, 406.



In February 1798, died the venerable Christian Frederick Swartz, in the seventy-second year of his age, and the forty-eighth of his labours as a missionary in India. Hitherto, he had enjoyed almost an uninterrupted state of good health; but of late, his strength had been visibly on the decline, and he frequently spoke of his approaching dissolution, as an object to which he looked forward not with terror, but with delight. He was at length seized with a cold and hoarseness, and these were quickly followed with a severe vomiting, by which his strength was quite exhausted, and his body extremely emaciated. From this complaint he recovered, but it was affecting to observe, that it had enfeebled, in no small degree, the powers of his mind. Though his thoughts, however, were incoherent when he talked on worldly subjects, they were quite connected when he spoke of spiritual things. About two months after, he complained of a slight inflammation in his right foot, which in a few days threatened mortification. This, indeed, was checked, but he sunk into such a state of debility, that he was obliged to be lifted, and carried about like a child. Though the pain he suffered was still very severe, yet no murmuring word was heard to drop from his lips; and at length, after exhibiting an interesting example of Christian faith, and hope, and joy, he expired without a struggle or a groan.

On the following day, the remains of this venerable man were interred in the chapel erected by him in the garden near his house. Serfogee, the young prince of Tanjore, came to see his corpse before the coffin was nailed down. He even be-



dewed it with his tears, covered it with a piece of gold cloth, and accompanied it to the grave. His fellow missionaries designed that a funeral hymn should be sung on the way to the chapel; but the lamentations of the multitude, who had crowded into the garden, prevented it. At the funeral, the servant of Mr. Swartz, in a deep tone of sorrow and despondency, exclaimed, "Now all our hopes are gone." Nor was this the sentiment of a solitary individual; it was the feeling of multitudes, both Christians and Pagans, both great and small. On examining Mr. Swartz's will, it was found that, with his usual benevolence, he had appointed the mission at Tanjore, the poor, and the establishments belonging to it, the principal heirs of his property."

To mark their high sense of Mr. Swartz's worth, and of the important services which he had rendered the country, the East India Company erected in Madras a monument to his memory, executed by the celebrated Mr. Bacon. As the apostolic labours of this illustrious man were already well known in India, it was thought unnecessary to represent him, as that distinguished artist first intended, in his official character as a missionary. It was judged more expedient to represent the correspondence of his dying moments with the general tenor of his life.

The PRINCIPAL compartment of the monument is occupied with an alto-relievo representation of Mr. Swartz, in the closing scene of his life. He is surrounded by a group of his infant pupils, to whom he afforded an asylum in his house, and by several

<sup>u</sup> Rep. Christ. Know. Soc. p. 473.—Neure Geschichte, tom. v. p. 640, 790.



of his fellow labourers, who attended him in his last moments. One of the children is embracing his dying hand, and one of the missionaries is supporting his head; but the eyes of Mr. Swartz are directed, and his hand is raised, toward an object in the upper part of the bass-relief, namely, the cross, which is borne by a descending angel, implying, that the death of Christ, the grand subject of his ministry, was now the chief support of his soul, "when flesh and heart were ready to faint and fail."

OVER the bass-relief, is the ark of the covenant, which was peculiarly the charge of the priests, and was a striking emblem of the constant theme of his preaching.

UNDER the bass-relief, are further emblems of the pastoral office, namely, the crosier; the gospel trumpet, with the banner of the cross attached to it; and an open Bible, on which is inscribed our Lord's commission to his disciples, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature."

On this beautiful monument was engraved the following honourable yet characteristic inscription:

**SACRED**

**To the Memory**

of the **REVEREND FREDERICK CHRISTIAN SWARTZ,**  
Whose life was one continued effort to imitate the example of his  
**BLESSED MASTER.**

Employed as a Protestant Missionary from the Government of  
Denmark,

And in the same character by the Society in England for the  
Promotion of Christian Knowledge,  
He, during a period of Fifty Years, "Went about doing Good,"



Manifesting, in respect to himself, the most entire abstraction  
 from temporal views,  
 But embracing every opportunity of promoting both the temporal  
 and eternal welfare of others.  
 In him Religion appeared not with a gloomy aspect  
 or forbidding mien,  
 But with a graceful form and placid dignity.  
 Among the many fruits of his indefatigable labours,  
 was the erection of the Church at Tanjore.  
 The savings from a small Salary were, for many years, devoted  
 to the pious work,  
 And the remainder of the Expense supplied by Individuals  
 at his solicitation.  
 The Christian Seminaries at Ramnadporam and in the  
 Tinevelly province were established by him.  
 Beloved and honoured by Europeans,  
 He was, if possible, held in still deeper reverence by the Natives  
 of this country, of every degree and every sect;  
 And their unbounded confidence in his Integrity and Truth  
 Was, on many occasions, rendered highly beneficial  
 to the public service.  
 The Poor and the Injured  
 Looked up to him as an unfailing friend and advocate;  
 The Great and Powerful  
 Concurred in yielding him the highest homage ever paid in this  
 Quarter of the Globe to European virtue.  
 The late HYDER ALLY CAWN,  
 In the midst of a bloody and vindictive war with the Carnatic,  
 Sent orders to his officers "to permit the venerable Father SWARTZ  
 to pass unmolested, and shew him respect and kindness,  
 For he is a Holy Man, and means no harm to my Government."  
 The late TULJAJA, Rajah of Tanjore,  
 When on his deathbed, desired to entrust to his protecting care  
 His adopted Son, SERFOJEE, the present Rajah,  
 With the administration of all affairs of his Country.  
 On a spot of ground granted to him by the same Prince,  
 'Two Miles east of Tanjore,  
 He built a House for his Residence, and made it an  
 Orphan Asylum.  
 Here the last 20 years of his life were spent in the Education  
 and Religious instruction of Children,



Particularly those of indigent parents, whom he gratuitously maintained and instructed ;

And here, on the 13th of February, 1798,  
Surrounded by his infant flock, and in the presence of several of  
his disconsolate Brethren,

Entreating them to continue to make Religion  
the first object of their care,

And imploring, with his last breath, the Divine Blessing  
on their labours,

He closed his truly Christian Career, in the 72d year of his Age.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY,

Anxious to perpetuate the Memory of such transcendent worth,

And gratefully sensible of the Public Benefits which resulted  
from its influence,

Caused this Monument to be erected, Ann. Dom. 1807. <sup>w</sup>

Such testimonies of respect to the memory of Mr. Swartz, were not confined to Europeans, or even to Christians. The Rajah of Tanjore placed his portrait among the pictures of the princes of that country, in his principal hall of audience. <sup>x</sup>

No son, indeed, could have a greater veneration for his father, than Serfogee had for Mr. Swartz. In token of his respect for him, he ordered from England a monument of marble which he designed to erect in his capital, in the church where the good man preached, with a view, he said, to perpetuate the memory of Father Swartz, and to manifest the high esteem he had for the character of that great and good man, and the gratitude he owed him, as his father, and his friend, the protector and guardian of his youth. The Rajah, at the same time, gave proofs of his respect and attachment for Mr. Swartz

<sup>w</sup> Buchanan's Apology for promoting Christianity in India.

<sup>x</sup> Buchanan's Researches, 3d edition, p. 63.—Relig. Mon. vol. v. p. 278.



of a more substantial nature, and which, to the generous soul of that excellent man, would have afforded far higher satisfaction. Having erected a charitable institution for the maintenance and education of Hindoo children of different casts, his affectionate regard for the memory of his late guardian, induced him to form a similar establishment for the benefit of fifty Christian children; and, besides them, there were thirty poor Christians maintained and clothed in this institution. He also gave orders, that his Christian servants, civil and military, should not be denied liberty by their officers, of attending divine worship on the Sabbath, or on festival days, and that they should be excused from all other duty on these occasions. He shewed much respect for all the missionaries whom he discovered to possess the same sentiments and zeal as Mr. Swartz; and expressed his wish, that none might be employed in the mission but such as would follow the footsteps of that good man, and resembled him at least in piety.<sup>y</sup>

In 1799, died in Bengal, the Rev. Mr. Kierlander, aged eighty-eight years, near sixty of which he had spent in India. It is painful to record the faults of so good a man; but as the close of his life, presents the Christian missionary with a striking lesson of the danger of indulging a worldly spirit, it may not be without its use to give a short sketch of his history. On his arrival in India, he was settled at Cuddalore, and though the mission at that place was then in its infancy, yet, through his unwearied exertions, it soon became extremely

<sup>y</sup> Rep. Christ. Know. Soc. p. 496, 499, 504, 561, 565.



flourishing. He, at that period, appeared a man of ardent zeal, of unbounded benevolence, of inexhaustible activity, of unspotted integrity, of unaffected humility, of extraordinary courage, of singular decision and of great presence of mind. His many excellencies, in short, commanded universal love and respect. Having afterwards proceeded to Calcutta with the view of establishing a branch of the mission in that city, he there prosecuted his labours with unwearied diligence, and with considerable success. He at last married, and by his wife, came into the possession of so large a fortune, that he was reckoned one of the richest men in Bengal. With that disinterestedness which formed so striking a feature of his character, he resolved to devote this new accession of wealth to the support and extension of the mission, which had hitherto struggled with considerable pecuniary difficulties. Besides exercising great liberality to the poor, he built a dwelling house for two missionaries, a church for the congregation, and a school-house for the children. On these and other objects of a missionary nature, he expended upwards of a hundred thousand rupees \* of his private fortune. In consequence of his wealth, he became connected with other opulent people in Bengal, and while he flattered himself, that by maintaining intercourse with them, he might be useful to them, they, as generally happens in such cases, proved hurtful to him. A worldly spirit was insensibly engendered in his breast: the society with which he associated,

\* About £12,000 Sterling.



involved him in extraordinary expense, and this, combined with the generosity of his temper, at last materially reduced his wealth. Chagrined at the diminution of his fortune, he now thought of some means of retrieving his loss. Rents being at that time very high in Bengal, he began to speculate in the buying and selling of houses, and expended on them sums of money belonging to others, in the hope of receiving large profits in return. By such means, many others acquired great wealth; but in his hands, the scheme completely failed. He was now, at an advanced period of life, under the necessity of leaving Calcutta and taking refuge in Chinsurah, a Dutch settlement in the neighbourhood, in order, we suppose, to escape the rigour of his creditors. Here he passed the last ten or eleven years of his life in poverty, yet endeavouring to render himself useful. Still animated with the zeal of a Christian missionary, he kept a school during the week; and on the Lord's day, he performed divine worship by desire of government, for which he was allowed a small salary. But though a cloud hung over the evening of his days, he lived according to his own confession, more peacefully and more comfortably, than when he possessed a superabundance of earthly things: He acknowledged with gratitude, the kindness of Providence in bringing him to a knowledge of himself, through mortifying afflictions, and in delivering him from the entanglements of this vain world. Even previous to his leaving Calcutta, the mission in that city had sunk into a languishing state; and, though various attempts were made to maintain its exis-



tence, it was at length abandoned about the period of his death.<sup>z</sup>

In July 1802, Mr. Gericke proceeded on a visit to Palamcottah, and the other southern districts, with the view of collecting and comforting the converts in that quarter of the country, who had of late, suffered great distress in consequence of the rebellion of the Polygars. On arriving near the extremity of the peninsula, he found whole villages of Pagans anxiously waiting for his arrival, in order to be further instructed and baptized by him. They had got acquainted with the native priests, the catechists, and the Christians, in that part of the country, and had already learned from them the catechism. On hearing of Mr. Gericke's arrival, they broke their idols to pieces, and converted their Pagan temples into Christian churches, in which he instructed and baptized them by hundreds in a day. He afterwards formed them into regular congregations, procured for them catechists and schoolmasters, and made them choose, in each place, four elders. These examples awakened the whole country, and when he was about to leave it, the inhabitants of many other villages sent messages to him, requesting him to remain sometime longer among them, and perform in their towns, the same good work which he had executed in those of their neighbours. With this request it was not in his power to comply; but he recommended them to the care of the native priests and catechists. In the course of this journey, Mr. Gericke baptized

<sup>z</sup> Neure Geschichte, tom. v.—Rep. Christ. Know. Soc. p. 278, 445.



about thirteen hundred persons ; and after he left the country, the native teachers formed eighteen new congregations, and baptized two thousand seven hundred people, so that the whole number amounted to no fewer than four thousand.<sup>a</sup>

Highly as we venerate the character of Mr. Gericke, we cannot but express the strongest disapprobation of his conduct on this occasion. Had the most of these people afforded such evidence of their sincere conversion to the Christian faith as to warrant their baptism, this certainly might have ranked among the most extraordinary events in the history of the church in ancient or modern times ; it might even have been considered as a kind of parallel to the day of Pentecost. But there is nothing in the account, to authorize such an exalted idea of it. Most of these people, indeed, possessed little knowledge of Christianity, and still less of its spirit : their chief inducement for professing themselves Christians, was a hope which they foolishly entertained, that they would then be exempted from the public burdens.<sup>b</sup>

In October 1803, Mr. Gericke died of an affection of his bowels, in the sixty-second year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his labours as a missionary in India. The grief which the death of this excellent man excited among all classes of people, is beyond description. His gentle, meek, and humble behaviour, rendered him beloved by persons of distinguished rank, as well as by those

<sup>a</sup> Relig. Mon. vol. i. p. 236.—Rep. Christ. Know. Soc. p. 514.—Neure Geschichte, tom. vi. p. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 100, 101, 105, 118, 133, 140, &c.



of inferior station. Many used to style him the *Primitive Christian*; and even such as differed from him on the subject of religion, respected his character and revered his piety. Though the propagation of Christianity was the chief object of his concern, yet he encouraged, as far as was in his power, the cultivation of the sciences; and he even paid a monthly salary to a Brahmin for assisting another of the missionaries in the study of Indian literature. In his charities, he knew no bounds. Though he might have maintained a considerable style in his manner of living, yet he studied the utmost economy with regard to his personal expenses, not that he might accumulate a fortune, but that he might afford relief to the poor and needy, the widow and the orphan. To his fellow missionaries, he was a most tender friend, and a kind benefactor. He never assumed the least superiority over them; but was ever the first to take upon himself the heaviest burdens, to comfort them under their trials, and to supply their wants. Being possessed of considerable property, he was accustomed, during his life, to contribute liberally to the support of his fellow missionaries; and, at his death, he left to the Vepery mission, 15,000 Star Pagodas, \* besides the reversion of a very considerable sum and a large house, on the demise of his widow. He was, in short, a burning and a shining light, whose gentle rays enlightened, warmed, and enlivened all who came within the sphere of its influence. °

° Rep. Christ. Know. Soc. p. 523, 530, 543.—Neure Geschichte, tom. vi. p. 99.

\* About £6000.



In 1806, the Rev. Dr. Buchanan visited the principal missionary stations on the Coast of Coromandel, and has presented us with an interesting account of his journey, and a general view of the state of this important mission at that period :

“Tranquebar,” says he, “was the scene of the first Protestant mission in India. There are at present three missionaries here superintending the Hindoo congregations. Yesterday I visited the church built by Ziegenbalg. His body lies on one side of the altar, and that of his fellow missionary Grundler on the other. They laid the foundation for evangelizing India, and then departed, ‘having finished the work, which was given them to do.’ I saw also the dwelling-house of Ziegenbalg, in the lower apartment of which the registers of the church are still kept. In these I found the name of the first Heathen baptized by him, and recorded in his own hand-writing in the year 1707. The missionaries told me that religion had suffered much at Tranquebar of late years, from European infidelity. French principles had corrupted the Danes, and rendered them indifferent to their own religion, and consequently hostile to the conversion of the Hindoos. ‘Religion,’ said they, ‘flourishes more among the natives of Tanjore, and in other provinces where there are few Europeans, than here or at Madras; for we find that European example in the large towns, is the bane of Christian instruction.’

“On the day after my arrival at Tanjore, I visited the Rajah in company with Major Blackburne the British Resident. When the first ceremonial was over, his highness conducted us to the grand saloon, which was adorned with the portraits of the



kings of Tanjore. All around there was a display of gold and silver and mirrors, English paintings, musical instruments, orreries, portfolios of oriental drawings, and many other curiosities both of nature and art. Finding that I wished to hear the music of the vina, he ordered up the chief musician. He has a band of twenty performers, twelve of whom play on the vina, and one on the harp.

“ My visit to the Rajah was very long. Our chief conversation related to Mr. Swartz. When I first mentioned his name, his highness, led me up to the picture of the reverend apostle, which is placed among the portraits of his predecessors. I smiled to see Swartz’s picture among these Hindoo kings, and thought with myself many would consider such a combination scarcely possible. While the harp and the vina played, I conversed with the Rajah about that good man, and of his present happiness in the heavenly state. I afterwards thanked him in the name of the Society in England for promoting Christian Knowledge, and of all Mr. Swartz’s friends in India for his kindness to that excellent man, and to his successors, and particularly for his recent acts of benevolence to the Christians within his dominions. Before my departure, a servant came up with four pieces of gold cloth of different kinds, which the Rajah presented to me. He then, agreeably to the usual etiquette, put a chaplet of flowers around my head, and a bracelet of flowers on my arms, and leading me and the Resident, one in each hand, to the steps of the hall, he bowed and retired.

“ Last Sunday was an interesting day at Tanjore. It being rumoured that a friend of Mr.



Swartz had arrived, the people assembled from all quarters. Three sermons were preached that day in three different languages. At eight o'clock in the morning we proceeded to the church built by Mr. Swartz within the fort. From the pulpit of that venerable man I preached in English, from these words, 'And the gospel must first be published among all nations.' The English gentlemen attended, civil and military, with the missionaries, catechists, and British soldiers. When this service was ended, the congregation of Hindoos assembled in the same church, and filled the aisles and porches. The Tamul service commenced with some forms of prayer, in which all the congregation joined with great fervour. A chapter of the Bible was then read, and a hymn of Luther's sung. After a short extempore prayer, during which the whole congregation knelt on the floor, Dr. John delivered an animated discourse in the Tamul language, from these words, 'Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink.' As Mr. Whitfield, on his first going to Scotland, was surprised at the rustling of the leaves of the Bible, which took place immediately on his pronouncing his text, (so different from any thing he had seen in his own country,) so I was here surprised at the sound of the iron pen engraving the palmyra leaf. Many persons had oles in their hands writing the sermon in Tamul shorthand. Mr. Kolhoff assured me that some of the elder students and catechists will not lose a word of the preacher if he speak deliberately. It is an old regulation of the mission, that the sermon of the morning should be read to



the schools in the evening, by the catechist, from his palmyra leaf.

“ There is another custom among them which greatly pleased me. In the midst of the discourse the preacher sometimes puts a question to the congregation, who answer it, without hesitation, in one voice. The object is to keep their attention awake, and the minister generally prompts the answer himself. Thus, suppose he is saying, ‘ My brethren, it is true that your profession of the faith of Christ is attended with some reproach, and that you have lost your cast with the Brahmins. But be of good cheer, and say, Though we have lost our cast and inheritance amongst men, we shall receive in heaven a new name and a better inheritance, through Jesus Christ our Lord.’ He then adds, ‘ What, my beloved brethren, shall you obtain in heaven?’ They answer, ‘ A new name and a better inheritance, through Jesus Christ our Lord.’ It is impossible for a stranger not to be affected with this scene. Children of tender years inquire of each other, and attempt the responses. This custom was introduced by Ziegenbalg, who proved its use by long experience.

“ After the sermon, I returned with the missionaries into the vestry or library of the church. Here I was introduced to the elders and catechists of the congregation. Among others came Sattianaden, the Hindoo preacher. He is now advanced in years, and his black locks have grown gray. As I returned from the church, I saw the Christian families going back in crowds to the country, and the boys looking at their oles. What a contrast,



thought I, is this to the scene at Juggernaut!\* Here there is becoming dress, humane affections, and rational discourse. Here I see no skulls, no self-torture, no self-murder, no dogs and vultures tearing human flesh! Here the Christian virtues are found in exercise by the feeble-minded Hindoo, in a vigour and purity which will surprise those who have never known the native character but under the greatest disadvantages, as in Bengal. It certainly surprised myself; and when I reflected on the moral conduct, upright dealing, decent dress, and decorous manners of the native Christians of Tanjore, I found in my breast a new evidence of the peculiar excellence and benign influence of the Christian faith.

“At four o’clock in the afternoon, we attended divine service at the chapel in the Mission Garden, out of the fort. Mr. Horst preached in the Portuguese language. The organ here accompanied the voice in singing. I sat on a granite stone which covered the grave of Swartz. The epitaph is in English verse, written by the present Rajah, and signed with his own name. In the evening Mr. Kolhoff presided at the exercise in the schools: on which occasion the Tamul sermon was repeated; and the boys’ oles examined.

“In consequence of my having expressed a wish to hear Sattianaden preach, Mr. Kolhoff had given notice that there would be divine service on the Monday. The chapel accordingly was crowded at

\* Dr. Buchanan had visited the temple of Juggernaut in Orissa, on his way to the south of India, and had witnessed the horrid scenes which are connected with the worship of that celebrated idol.



an early hour. Sattianaden delivered a discourse full of fire in the Tamul language, with much natural eloquence, and with visible effect. In quoting a passage from Scripture, he desired a lower minister to read it, listening to it as to a record; and then proceeded to the illustration. The responses by the audience were more frequently called for than in the former discourse. After the sermon, I went up to Sattianaden, and addressed him in a few words, expressive of my hope that he would be faithful unto death. The aged Christians crowded around us and shed tears: He said he was unworthy to preach before his teachers.

“ I had long conversations with the missionaries relative to the present circumstances of the Tanjore mission. It is in a languishing state at this moment, in consequence of the war on the Continent of Europe. Two of its sources have dried up, the Royal College at Copenhagen, and the Orphan-house at Halle, in Germany. Their remaining resource from Europe is the stipend of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; whom they never mention but with emotions of gratitude and affection. But this supply is by no means commensurate with the increasing number of their churches and schools. The chief support of the mission is derived from itself. Mr. Swartz had in his lifetime acquired considerable property, through the kindness of the English government and of the native Princes. When he was dying, he said, ‘ Let the cause of Christ be my heir.’ When his colleague, the pious Mr. Gericke, was departing, he also bequeathed his property to the mission. And now Mr. Kolhoff gives from his private funds upwards of a thousand



pagodas a year; \* not that he can well afford so large a sum, but the mission is so extended, that he gives it, he told me, to preserve the new and remote congregations in existence.

“ Leaving Tanjore, I passed through the woods inhabited by the Collaries, many of whom are now humanized by Christianity, and proceeded to Tritchinapoly. The first church built by Swartz is at this place. It is a large building, capable of containing perhaps two thousand people. The aged missionary, Mr. Pohle, presides over this church, and over the native congregations at this place. Christianity flourishes; but I found that here, as at other places, there is a famine of Bibles.”<sup>d</sup>

In January 1810, Dr. John opened a Free-school in one of the villages in the neighbourhood of Tranquebar, on the united principles of the Madras and Lancasterian systems, designing, should the experiment succeed, to extend it to other places. The missionaries in consequence of the reduced state of their funds, had of late been obliged to refuse numbers of children who applied for admission into the Orphan-house in the town, where the scholars were not only educated, but clothed and supported. Dr. John was so much affected with this circumstance, that, notwithstanding he was now nearly blind with age, and his other infirmities, he resolved to establish a school in which education alone should be free, and as the experiment succeeded beyond his expectations, he proceeded to

<sup>d</sup> Buchanan's Researches, p. 61.—Pearson's Memoirs of Dr. Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 28, 32.—Christian Observer, vol. vi. p. 335.

\* About £250.



erect similar schools in various other places. Even the Brahmins considered it as an advantage to have their children educated at these seminaries, as in the ordinary schools, they were in general so miserably taught, that few could read their own language with facility. To avoid all suspicion, that he intended to obtrude Christianity on the scholars, Dr. John informed the teachers, and the parents, that the design of these schools was merely to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic, by a shorter and more easy process than the common method; that the children should be at perfect liberty to follow their own religion, and to preserve the peculiarities of their casts. But, though religion formed no branch of instruction in these seminaries, various moral and descriptive passages from the Holy Scriptures were read in them, as well as selections from the moral and descriptive writings of the Hindoos.<sup>c</sup>

When Dr. John projected the plan of establishing Free-schools for the education of youth, he knew not where he should obtain funds for their support; but yet he resolved to make the experiment, in the hope that God would provide the necessary supplies. In combination with this fact, it is not unworthy of notice, that the first to patronize him in his benevolent design, was the Rajah of Tanjore, a heathen prince, and for a considerable time he was his only supporter. His little funds, however, were at length exhausted, and he was on the point of reducing the number of his schools, when he received a most seasonable supply from the Church

<sup>c</sup> John on Indian Civilization, p. 20, 25.—Miss. Reg. vol. i. p. 299; vol. iv. p. 64.



Missionary Society, who, on learning the nature and extent of his plan, resolved to spare no expense in carrying into effect a measure which appeared so promising. Thus Dr. John's humble confidence in God, did not pass unrewarded, and, though he himself died soon after, yet his scheme of establishing Free-schools throughout the country, not only survived him, but was even extended under the new and powerful patronage which it had acquired. Many of the parents, however, especially those who were Christians, were very careless in sending their children; and the teachers required to be narrowly watched to keep them diligent at their work. Some of the schools, it was even found necessary to give up, on account of the negligence of the masters; and many of the children left them before their education was completed. By the last accounts, the number of the schools was thirty-one, and the children attending them, amounted to 1548; into all the schools the reading of the scriptures was now introduced, a circumstance which in some instances excited the hostility of the heathen parents.<sup>f</sup>

In the beginning of 1816, the mission at Tranquebar was reduced to the brink of ruin, in consequence of the failure of its ordinary resources. The missionaries had for several years past been struggling with great pecuniary difficulties, and had contracted debts to a considerable amount. Some of the creditors had of late become urgent for payment, and the missionaries had no way of dis-

<sup>f</sup> John on Indian Civilization.—Miss. Reg. vol. i. p. 298; vol. vi. p. 32; vol. ix. p. 81.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. viii. p. 270.



charging their claims, but by the sale of property, which was indispensably necessary to the carrying on of their operations. They had, even already, been obliged to dismiss upwards of one hundred children from school, for want of means to support the teachers. Happily, at this critical moment, Dr. Middleton, the Bishop of Calcutta, arrived at Tranquebar in the course of the visitation of his extensive diocese ; and as he had been invested by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, with a discretionary power to afford pecuniary assistance to such plans as appeared conducive to the interests of religion, he made the missionaries a grant of near two hundred pounds, which freed them from their present embarrassments. This, though a seasonable, was only a partial relief ; but the Danish government afterwards paid the debt of the mission, amounting to four or five thousand pagodas, and engaged for its future support. This station, however, appears to be in a lamentable state of decay. §

Even about the close of the eighteenth century, the number of missionaries on the coast of Coromandel still amounted to nine : namely, three at Tranquebar, supported by the Royal Mission College at Copenhagen, and the Directors of the Orphan-house at Halle in Saxony ; three at Tanjore, two at Vepery near Madras, and one at Tritchinapoly supported by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. These were the places where the missionaries chiefly resided ; but they made frequent

§ Miss. Reg. vol. v. p. 464 ; vol. vii. p. 36, 527.—Methodist Missionary Notices, vol. i. p. 42.



journies through the country, and even to the island of Ceylon; and they had congregations at Cuddalore, Negapatnam, Palamcottah, and a great number of other places, extending almost in one continued chain to Cape Comorin. After that period, however, the number of the missionaries was greatly diminished, and as the places of those who died were long of being supplied, the few who survived were not able to take that particular care of the more distant churches which the nature of their situation required. Some of these were left in a great measure destitute of the means of religious instruction. Having often written in vain for assistants from Europe, the missionaries were at length compelled to ordain several of the catechists to the work of the ministry, a measure which they adopted with extreme reluctance, as they had found by experience, that the native priests were neither duly respected by their own countrymen, nor possessed that wisdom which so important a trust required.<sup>n</sup>

With respect to the number of converts at present connected with the mission on the coast of Coromandel, our information is rather imperfect. A few years ago, the native Christians belonging to the Tanjore mission, including the Tinevelly district, amounted nearly to twelve thousand: those connected with the Trichinapoly mission were only four hundred and sixty-six. Judging from the number of communicants, we may estimate the baptized

<sup>n</sup> Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 431.—Meier Missions-Geschichte, p. 473.—Neure Geschichte, tom. i. p. 529, 1525; tom. ii. p. 1137; tom. iii. p. 499, 908; tom. iv. p. 27; tom. v. p. 491, 1004.—Rep. Christ. Know. Soc. p. 527, 540, 548, 581, 634.—Miss. Reg. vol. vii. p. 525.



in the Tranquebar mission at about three thousand, and in the Vepery mission at five hundred. The whole body of native Christians connected with the mission on the coast of Coromandel, including children, may therefore be calculated at about sixteen thousand. This number is certainly very considerable, but we are sorry to understand that vital Christianity is at a low ebb among them.<sup>i</sup>

It is a common idea that the converts consist almost entirely of the race of Pariars. This, indeed, was the case for many years after the commencement of the mission; but the state of things is now materially altered. At Tranquebar, Tanjore and Vepery, more than two-thirds of the converts are of the higher casts. Even those of the lower order are so much improved, that were a stranger to visit their places of worship on the sabbath, he would be surprised at the cleanliness of their appearance, and might even mistake them for the higher class of Hindoos. Here, it may not be improper to remark, that the missionaries allow the converts to retain their distinction of casts, a practice, with respect to which, there may be some diversity of opinion; but, which they no doubt adopted from the best of motives, the desire of facilitating the conversion of the natives to Christianity.<sup>k</sup>

With regard to the total number of converts since the commencement of the mission, our accounts are

<sup>i</sup> Rep. Bib. Soc. 1811, App. p. 22.—Miss. Reg. vol.

—Pearson's Memoirs of Dr. Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 24, 26, 43.

—Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 100, 140, 363; vol. iv. p. 351.

<sup>k</sup> Niecampii Hist. p. 453.—Rep. Christ. Know. Soc. p. 301, 399.



extremely contradictory. Dr. Carey stated them some years ago, at about forty thousand; but according to Dr. Buchanan, it was computed, that during the first century of the mission, no fewer than eighty thousand had been converted to the faith of Christ.<sup>1</sup> Most people will probably be disposed to prefer Dr. Buchanan's estimate, not only as it is the largest, but because they may imagine, he would obtain his information on the spot; and therefore, it is proper to remark, that he gave this account previous to his visit to the Coromandel coast. From the facts, indeed, which we have in our possession, it is quite obvious that Dr. Buchanan's estimate is far beyond the truth; and on the other hand, Dr. Carey's appears to be somewhat under it. After a careful investigation of particulars, we apprehend the whole number of converts from the commencement of the mission to the close of the year 1820, may be estimated at about fifty-four thousand, including children baptized in their infancy, many of whom, it is probable, by their conduct in life, afterwards forfeited all title to the name of Christians. \*

<sup>1</sup> Fuller's Apology for Christian Missions, part i. p. 25.—Buchanan's Memoir on an Ecclesiastical Establishment for India, p. 93.

\* In 1796, the whole number of converts in the Tranquebar mission from its commencement, amounted to 19,340. *Neure Geschichte*, tom. v. p. 157.

In 1772, the whole number of converts in the Madras mission from its commencement, amounted to 2201. *Neure Geschichte*, tom. i. p. 1181.

In 1747, the whole number of converts in the Cuddalore mission from its commencement, amounted to 861. *Rep. Christ. Know. Soc.* p. 70.



In closing the history of this important mission, we feel peculiar pleasure in noticing the length of time during which it maintained its original vigour. In all human institutions, there is a natural tendency to decay: the operation of this principle, was early felt in most of the other missionary establishments, of which we have already given an account. But the mission on the coast of Coromandel, manifested nothing of the infirmities of age, for about a hundred years. Till near the close of the eighteenth century, most of the missionaries engaged in it, appear to have been animated with all the piety and zeal, and to have prosecuted their labours with all the diligence and activity of its original founders. Of late years, however, the symptoms of decay have made their appearance, particularly at Tranquebar, Vepery, and Tritchinopoly.<sup>m</sup> Some of the missionaries seem not to have

<sup>m</sup> Pearson's Memoirs of Dr. Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 26, 43.

In 1802, the whole number of persons received into the congregation at Tanjore, from 1773, (excepting those of the year 1777, which were wanting in the church books) amounted to 3775: namely,

|                                    |      |
|------------------------------------|------|
| Pagans,                            | 2225 |
| Roman Catholics,                   | 863  |
| Children born in the Congregation, | 687  |

*Neure Geschichte*, tom. v. p. 944. *Rep. Christ. Know. Soc.*

To ascertain the amount of the converts to the year 1820, we have added to these numbers the annual returns from the different missionary stations so far as we have been able to collect them; and for the years which were defective, we have taken the average of the annual returns in our possession, so that we apprehend our calculation must be very near the truth. The only part of it that we consider as uncertain, is with respect to the congregations in the south of India, for which we have allowed 10,000 converts.



possessed the zeal and energy of their predecessors: others were old and incapable of much exertion. The ranks of those who died were not filled up, so that while the ability of the survivors diminished, their work increased to an extent which no human power could overtake. The failure of their pecuniary resources, at the same time, cramped them in all their operations, and involved them in difficulties little less than insuperable. Let us not therefore, censure the missionaries on the coast of Coromandel more than they deserve: they could not perform impossibilities: constituted as human nature is, they could scarcely fail to sink amidst the powerful discouragements of their situation. Some share of blame may attach to individuals among them; but the decline of the mission, so far as we can judge, is to be ascribed chiefly to the unfavourable circumstances in which they were placed.

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## SECTION II

### GREENLAND.

IN 1708, Mr. Hans Egede, soon after he was settled in the ministry at a place called Vogen, in Norway, recollected having read of the existence of Christians, and churches, and other monuments of our holy religion in Greenland.\* Anxious to learn

\* The Norwegians settled in Greenland early in the eleventh century. We have a list of their bishops for about three hundred years afterwards; but since the beginning of the fifteenth century, little or nothing has been heard of them.



the present state of that country, he applied for information to a friend in Bergen, who had been employed in the whale fishery, and in consequence of the accounts he received, he began to feel a deep concern for the poor inhabitants, who, he apprehended, must now, from want of Christian instructors, have relapsed into all the horrors of paganism. He thought his countrymen were bound in a particular manner to carry the gospel to them, as they were not only descended from Christian ancestors, but were of the same extraction as themselves, and were considered as subjects of the same government. He himself had a strong desire to go and preach among them "the unsearchable riches of Christ;" but on reflecting upon the subject, he was exceedingly perplexed. On the one hand, the deep concern he felt for the glory of God, and the salvation of the benighted Greenlanders, urged him forward to the work; on the other, the consideration that he was already settled in the ministry, the necessity of providing for his family, and the difficulties and dangers of the attempt, deterred him from it. He, therefore, prayed to God, that he would deliver him from this temptation, and preserve him from plunging himself and his family, by any rash project, in misfortune and ruin.

In 1710, Mr. Egede, with the view of relieving the anxiety of his mind, resolved to address an humble memorial concerning the conversion of the

Many ruins of churches and other buildings, however, are still found in the country. *Crantz's History of Greenland*, vol. i. p. 249, 252, 264. *Granz Fortsetzung der Historie von Gronland*, p. 342.—*Egede (Hans) Nachricht der Gronlandischen Mission*, p. 67, 83.



Greenlanders, to his Majesty the King of Denmark, in the hope that the work would be undertaken by some others, who might engage in it more conveniently than himself. He was afraid, however, that such a proposal, from so obscure an individual would meet with little attention, and that, as it would require a considerable sum of money, there was little hope of its being carried into effect while the war lasted, in which Denmark was then involved with Sweden. He forwarded, however, a copy of this memorial to the bishop of Bergen, the port from which the trade to Greenland was chiefly carried on, and to the bishop of Drontheim, to whose diocese he belonged, entreating them, at the same time, to recommend to Government, his proposal for the conversion of the Greenlanders. The bishops, in reply, commended his zeal, and they promised to forward his memorial to court with the view of its being laid before his Majesty. The mind of Mr. Egede, was now in some measure set at rest: he committed the whole affair into the hands of God, in the hope that he would over-rule every thing for his own glory.

Hitherto, the whole plan had lain concealed in his own bosom; he had not mentioned it even to his wife, as he was apprehensive she would be completely adverse to it. It could now, however, be no longer concealed. Some of their friends who about this time visited Bergen, having heard of his proposal, wrote to him on their return, censuring in the strongest terms, his fool-hardy project. His own, and his wife's mother, now endeavoured to divert him from his purpose, representing to him in the most affecting manner, the dangers and dis-



tress in which he would plunge himself and his family. Mrs. Egede was confounded by their representations, and even he himself was so overcome by the entreaties and the tears of his friends, that he repented of his rashness in ever proposing to go to Greenland, and promised to remain in that situation in which he had been already placed by Providence. He thought he had now done his utmost for the conversion of the Greenlanders, and that God could not require from him more, as he was withheld from the attempt, chiefly by his relations, and in such an undertaking, it was impossible for him to act and suffer alone. He even became quite easy in his mind, and thanked God, that through these circumstances, he had delivered him from this temptation. His tranquillity, however, was of short duration: that solemn declaration of the Redeemer struck his conscience, and destroyed all his peace: "He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me, and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me." His mind was now thrown into a state of terrible perturbation: he had no rest night nor day. His wife observed his deep distress, and did her best to comfort him; but all in vain. Growing, at length, impatient, she called herself unfortunate in having given her heart, and been united in marriage, to a man who wished to plunge him and herself in all manner of misfortunes. These circumstances drove him almost desperate; he now desired death rather than life. In the meanwhile, various little occurrences, particularly the hatred and envy, the lies and calumnies of some wicked people, rendered their situation at Vogen very uncomfortable. Mr. Egede



submitted it to the serious consideration of his wife, whether they might not view this as a punishment on account of their unwillingness to deny themselves, and to endure hardships for the sake of Christ. By his advice, she referred the matter to God in humble prayer, and at length, she so completely changed her views, that instead of a rooted aversion, she felt a strong desire to go to Greenland.

Having gained the consent of his wife, Mr. Egede thought he had vanquished all his difficulties. He again sent an humble memorial respecting the conversion of the Greenlanders, to the College of Missions at Copenhagen, and to the new bishop of Bergen. He also wrote letters to him, and to the bishop of Drontheim, entreating them to recommend his proposals as far as lay in their power; but they, in reply, informed him that he must wait with patience until the return of peace, as in the present distressed state of the country, nothing of importance could be undertaken by the court. In this manner, Mr. Egede was disappointed, year after year; yet, such was his zeal for a mission to Greenland, that nothing could divert him from his purpose.

As, however, there was little appearance of the return of peace, Mr. Egede's patience was at last exhausted. He therefore resolved to go and prosecute the object of his memorial in person, especially as he was doubtful whether the individuals to whom he had entrusted it were zealous and active in promoting it. Meanwhile a report was circulated, that a ship from Bergen had been wrecked in the Greenland seas, and that the crew, on escaping to land, were not only murdered, but devoured by the



savages. Mr. Egede was at first considerably alarmed by this account, particularly as many people took occasion from it to represent the Greenlanders in a most frightful light, and to rouse the fears of his wife. They both, however, consoled themselves with the thought, that God is able to preserve his people, under all circumstances when in the path of duty. Before proceeding on his journey, Mr. Egede had wished to resign his charge, on condition that his successor would grant him a small annuity until he was provided for in Greenland or in some other quarter; but as the bishop wrote him that no person would accept of so inconsiderable a benefice on such terms, he relinquished it without any provision of the kind.

In July 1718, Mr. Egede set off with his family for Bergen, and on his arrival, was viewed by the inhabitants of that town as a kind of wonder. Many alleged he must have had visions and revelations to induce him to embark in so wild an enterprise; yet some, when they understood his design, regarded him in a more favourable light. With the view of carrying his plan into effect, he endeavoured to find persons who would embark in the trade to Greenland; but as the traffic of the Norwegians with that country had of late been destroyed by the Dutch, nobody would hear a syllable from him on that subject, at least while the war continued. Some, however, said that if peace were restored, and if government would assist them, they might perhaps make the attempt. As the unexpected fall of Charles the Twelfth, at the siege of Frederickshall in Norway, gave rise to hopes of a speedy peace, Mr. Egede seized the auspicious mo-



ment, repaired to Copenhagen in person, and presented to the College of Missions various propositions relative to a mission to Greenland. His Majesty Frederick the Fourth, who appears to have taken a deep interest in the propagation of Christianity among the heathen, was favourable to the design; and even did Mr. Egede the honour of conversing with him on the subject of his proposals.

In consequence of these communications, orders were transmitted from his Majesty to the magistrates of Bergen to make inquiry, whether the trade to Greenland could be carried on with advantage from that port, and whether any of the inhabitants were disposed to embark in it. In obedience to this mandate, the captains and pilots who had been engaged in the whale fishery, were assembled in the council-house, to give their opinions concerning the state of the country, and the prospects of the trade: but as they were afraid that if their testimony was favourable, they might be ordered to go thither, and even to remain for some time, they deviated entirely from the representations they had previously given to Mr. Egede, describing the country as most inhospitable, and the navigation as most dangerous. His hopes of assistance from man now vanished, and his heart even began to murmur against God, who, for so many years, had cherished in his breast an unquenchable desire to preach the gospel in Greenland, while yet he blasted all his schemes for carrying it into effect. Agitated as he sometimes was with such distressing thoughts, he still poured out his heart to God in prayer, in the hope that he might yet crown his exertions with success.



He now applied to individuals of some property, and urged them by all the arguments he could devise, to risk a portion of it on the trade to Greenland. Influenced by his earnest representations, several of them began to listen to him, and about the same time, a gentleman from Hamburg, who had heard of the proposal, offered to invest a considerable capital in a company for trading to Greenland. Mr. Egede now flattered himself with the expectation of seeing his plans accomplished at last; but scarcely had he begun to indulge this pleasing hope when the gentleman in Hamburg withdrew his engagement, and information was at the same time received from the College of Missions, that the privileges demanded by the Company could not be granted by the crown. In consequence of this the merchants were dispirited: and every thing was once more thrown into confusion.

But notwithstanding these difficulties and disappointments, which must have damped the ardour of any ordinary mind, Mr. Egede did not desist from his purpose. Having renewed his applications to the merchants without success, he at last persuaded several piously disposed persons in Bergen to meet together, that he might lay before them some propositions relative to Greenland. Moved by his indefatigable zeal and his incessant exertions, they promised, that if he could prevail with others, they would assist him to the utmost of their power, in carrying into effect his benevolent schemes. With the view of making a beginning, Mr. Egede subscribed as his share, three hundred rix dollars; some of those who were present contributed two hundred; and others one hundred. Having presented this



document to the bishop and clergy of Bergen, and various of the merchants, he now obtained subscriptions from them, notwithstanding the little success which had attended his previous applications. In this manner a capital of between eight and ten thousand rix-dollars was raised, and though it was not equal to the expense of the undertaking, Mr. Egede determined to make the attempt without further delay. With this view a ship was purchased to carry him and the other settlers to Greenland, and to remain in that country during the winter. Two other vessels were freighted, one for the whale fishery, the other to bring back an account of the colony. Meanwhile he was informed by the College of Missions, that his Majesty most graciously approved of the undertaking, and had appointed him a salary of three hundred rix-dollars a year, and a present of other two hundred to assist in his equipment. Thus, after a patient struggle of no less than thirteen years, Mr. Egede had now the prospect of carrying his plan into execution.<sup>a</sup>

In May 1721, Mr. Egede sailed from Bergen, with his wife and four children, and a number of other persons as settlers. On reaching the Greenland seas, they met with so much ice, which not only floated around them in frightful forms, but stretched along the whole coast, that the Captain in despair of finding a passage was almost induced to return. After sailing about for nearly three weeks, they one morning discovered an opening, and ventured into it; but they had not proceeded far, when their progress was checked by the ice encompassing the

<sup>a</sup> Egede (Hans) Nachricht vom Anfange und Fortgange der Gronlandischen Mission, p. 1.



shore. They, therefore, endeavoured to escape from amongst it, and to run out into the open sea; but the attempt was vain, for the wind was contrary as well as stormy. Nothing seemed now before them but inevitable destruction. The ship which accompanied them struck on the ice and sprung a leak; and, though the crew stopped it with clothes and whatever else was most at hand, it was apprehended that both the vessels would soon be dashed to pieces. The Captain sprung into the place where Mrs. Egede and her children were, and told them to prepare for death, as there was now no hope of escape. The feelings of Mr. Egede on this occasion, it is more easy to conceive than describe, when he saw before his eyes, that very event of which he had been so often warned in vain, the destruction of himself, his wife and his children. To increase their alarm there was such a thick fog, during the whole day, that they could see nothing before them; but yet they were surprised to find, that the ship gradually gained more and more room; and when the mist disappeared after midnight, the quantity of ice was so inconsiderable, that they could scarcely believe they had been in such imminent danger. The same storm which threatened them with destruction had delivered them from the ice; but this circumstance had escaped their notice owing to the thickness of the fog.<sup>b</sup>

After a voyage of about eight weeks, they landed in Greenland, at Balls river, in 64° North Latitude, and immediately on their arrival, began to erect a house of turf and stone on one of the islands. The

<sup>b</sup> Egede (H) Nachricht Gronlandisch. Mission, p. 20.



Greenlanders appeared at first very friendly to them, and even assisted the workmen in their operations, imagining it was a ship they meant to build; but when they discovered it was a house, they made signs that the vessel would be crushed to pieces by the ice, and the house buried in the snow; they pointed to the sun and to the horizon, shivered, closed their eyes, and laid their hand under their head, intimating by all this, that when the winter came, they would be frozen to death, and therefore they had better take their departure without delay. But as the colonists shewed no disposition to follow their advice, the savages began to manifest considerable dread of them. They could not conceive for what purpose the Kablunaks, as they style Europeans, had come to their land, unless it was to revenge the death of their countrymen, whom the ancient Greenlanders were said to have murdered. They therefore employed their Angekoks to harass and destroy them by their incantations; but as the conjurors found that all their arts were of no avail, they reported that the strangers would do them no harm, and that the priest himself was an Angekok. In a short time the fears of the savages subsided; they readily received the colonists into their houses when they went among them; and they were not backward to visit them in return. They frequently applied to Mr. Egede to heal their sick by blowing on them like their Angekoks; and on one occasion, they even conducted him to a grave and entreated him to raise the dead. <sup>c</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Egede (Paul) Nachrichten von Gronland von 1721, bis 1788, p. 18.—Egede (H.) Nachricht Gronlandisch. Mission, p. 23, 25, 28, 32, 36, 44, 48, 50, 81.



Anxious to enter on the great work of instructing the Greenlanders, Mr. Egede, as he was still unable to speak their language, employed his eldest son to draw pictures of various Scripture facts, as the creation of the world, the fall of man, the deluge, the miracles, death, and ascension of Christ, the resurrection of the dead, and the last judgment. These drawings he shewed to the Greenlanders who visited him, and explained to them as well as he was able, what they were intended to signify. The figures however were so extremely rude, that even the savages used to laugh every time, they were catechised upon them. <sup>d</sup>

The aspect of the trade was at first extremely unpromising. The Greenlanders possessed few articles of traffic, and what little they had, they did not choose to barter with the Danes, as they had been accustomed for many years to dispose of it to the Dutch, who knew the commodities most acceptable in Greenland, and could afford them at a cheaper rate. A ship from Holland, which ran into Balls river, bought more in half an hour than the colonists had been able to do during the whole winter. <sup>e</sup>

In May 1722, the settlers, as there was no appearance of any vessel from Norway with supplies, resolved to leave the country in the ship which had wintered with them, alleging, that with only the provisions which remained, they must soon be involved in all the horrors of famine. This reduced Mr. Egede to the deepest distress. On the one

<sup>d</sup> Egede (H.) *Nachricht Gronlandisch. Mission*, p. 36.—  
Egede (P.) *Nachrichten von Gronland*, p. 25.

<sup>e</sup> Egede (H.) *Nachricht Gronlandisch. Mission*, p. 27, 34, 37.



hand, he could not think of deserting a post which he had attained with so much difficulty, and after the labour of so many years : On the other, he could not stay alone with his wife and children only to see them perish of hunger, or murdered by the savages. He endeavoured to persuade the colonists to wait till the end of summer for the arrival of the ship; but though they were under no necessity of departing sooner, they would not listen to his proposal. He was obliged to agree to be ready to sail within fourteen days. Still he hoped a vessel might arrive to their assistance; yet his hopes were mingled with many fears. The settlers were happy at the prospect of leaving so inhospitable a country, and returning to their native land; but to him the thought was bitter as wormwood and gall. Amidst these trying circumstances Mrs. Egede was wonderfully composed. She not only would make no preparations for the voyage; but when the colonists were packing up their goods, she told them they were giving themselves unnecessary trouble; God would yet put them to shame for their distrust of his gracious Providence. Three weeks however elapsed, and still there was no appearance of any vessel. At last when all hope seemed to have vanished, two ships arrived; and brought them not only a supply of provisions and other necessary articles, but intelligence that the company at Bergen was resolved to prosecute the trade and his Majesty to support the mission. <sup>f</sup>

Encouraged by these assurances, Mr. Egede resolved to spare no pains in prosecuting the great

<sup>f</sup> Egede (H.) Nachricht Gronlandisch. Mission, p. 38, 40.



object of his settlement in the country. With the view of acquiring the language, he made frequent visits to the Greenlanders in the neighbourhood; and though the stench and dirtiness of their houses were extremely noisome, yet to this and other inconveniences he cheerfully submitted, in the hope of ultimately being useful to them. Two or three of the young Greenlanders were at length induced to take up their residence with him, which saved him the trouble of going to live with the savages, as he endeavoured, by conversing with them, to acquire a knowledge of the language. He at the same time instructed them in reading and in the principles of religion. At first, they did tolerably well, and even strove with each other who should be the best scholar, as they had a fish hook for every letter they learned; but they soon grew weary of the employment, and said, They knew not the use of sitting every day, looking at a piece of paper, and crying A, B, C; whereas to go to sea, to hunt seals and to shoot birds was attended both with profit and pleasure. On the return of summer, they accordingly stole away, one after another, so that all the pains he had taken with them proved of no avail. <sup>g</sup>

In July 1723, Mr. Albert Top arrived in Greenland as an assistant to Mr. Egede in his labours among the savages; but neither of them met with much encouragement in their attempts to instruct them. Though the Greenlanders listened to them with wonderful attention, yet from their extreme stupidity, they understood little of what was told

<sup>g</sup> Egede (H.) Nachricht Gronlandisch. Mission, p. 51, 53, 66, 72.



them; though they approved of all they heard, yet they felt no personal interest in it. They were so credulous, that they were ready to believe any thing; they never questioned nor contradicted what they were taught; they seldom offered any objections, or desired any explanation of difficulties; but at the same time, the truths of religion made no impression on their hearts; their coldness and indifference with respect to them were truly surprising. It is, however, not unworthy of notice, that the immortality of man was a favourite doctrine with the Greenlanders. It pleased them to hear that the spirit did not die with the body; that even the body would be restored to life at the last day; that friends would meet together in another and a better world; and that they would be no more subject to sickness and sorrow.<sup>h</sup>

Much as we admire the character of Mr. Egede, it must be acknowledged that in some instances he employed means for influencing the minds of the savages which were inconsistent not only with the gentle spirit of Christianity, but even with common veracity. Having one day found that some of the Greenlanders in the neighbourhood, had in a great measure forgotten his instructions, he gave them to understand that unless they were more attentive, the king of the country from which he came, would take them away in ships and carry them to that distant land, and instruct them there. On another occasion he told them, that if they would not pay

<sup>h</sup> Egede (H.) Nachricht Gronlandisch. Mission, p. 53, 62, 73, 85, 92, 153, 213.—Egede's Description of Greenland, Edit. 1818, p. 214.



attention to his instructions, more people would come to the country and punish them for their stubbornness, and even put them to death. Mr. Egede was not content with mere threatenings; he sometimes proceeded to inflict corporal punishment on such of the Greenlanders as offended him. Being told that one of the Angekoks had been saying, it would be an easy thing to root the Kablunaks out of the land and to seize on their property, he proceeded with seven or eight armed men to the place of his residence, seized him, and brought him to the colony, where he gave him some corporal chastisement, with which the poor fellow seemed happy to escape, as he anticipated nothing less than death. Into these errors the good man was probably betrayed by considering the Greenlanders in the light of children, like many a parent who not only administers correction to his offspring, but endeavours to keep them in awe by threatenings which he never means to execute.<sup>i</sup>

In 1726 the colonists were reduced to great distress for want of the necessaries of life. Their food had of late consisted chiefly of seals' flesh; but as this affords very slender nourishment, they became so extremely feeble that in rowing they were almost ready to drop the oars from their hands. One evening several of them came to some Greenlanders who treated them with flesh and eggs, which proved to them a most seasonable repast, as they had eaten nothing since the preceding day, and in the mean-

<sup>i</sup> Egede (H.) *Nachricht Gronlandisch. Mission*, p. 95, 106, 116, 120, 128, 142, 184, 209.—Egede (P.) *Nachrichten von Gronland*, p. 37.



while had been exposed in the country to the storm. On another occasion, they obtained from them two tons of the spermaceti of a Caschalot whale, the train of which they used instead of butter to their seal flesh, and with it and a little meal, they baked pancakes. Mr. Egede, on whom the care of the temporal as well as the spiritual interests of the colony chiefly devolved, set off on a dangerous voyage to a place about two hundred and fifty miles distant, in the hope of finding the Dutch ships employed in the whale fishery, and of procuring from them a supply of provisions. There he found twelve Dutch vessels; but necessitous as were the circumstances of the colony, he obtained from them very scanty relief. Eight men had now to live on the portion of bread which would have been required by one. These circumstances were a severe trial to Mr. Egede. As to himself, he had learned with the Apostle Paul, "in whatsoever state he was to be content;" but to behold his wife and children suffering all the miseries of want, wrung his heart with anguish; while at the same time, the daily murmurs and impatience of the colonists contributed still further to embitter his situation. In the midst of these trying circumstances, a ship arrived from Norway with a supply of those articles which they so much needed. Still, however, Mr. Egede was much distressed to learn that another vessel had sailed from Bergen; but as she had not been heard of, he felt the most serious apprehensions for her safety; and the event showed that his fears were not without foundation. <sup>k</sup>

<sup>k</sup> Egede (P.) Nachrichten von Gronland, p. 49.—Egede (H.) Nachricht Gronlandisch. Mission, p. 146.



Besides labouring for the conversion of the Greenlanders, Mr. Egede exerted himself to the utmost of his power in promoting the temporal interests of the colony, being sensible that the existence of the mission might ultimately depend on the success of the trade. With this view he undertook many long and hazardous voyages, in the course of which he suffered no small hardships, and was even in danger of his life. But notwithstanding all his exertions the trade proved so unsuccessful, that the Company at Bergen relinquished the undertaking.<sup>1</sup>

In 1728, his Majesty Frederick the Fourth, who had now taken upon himself the whole concern, adopted new and more vigorous measures for extending both the trade and the mission. With this view he sent out several ships, one of which was an armed vessel, with materials for the erection of a fort, and a small garrison of soldiers for the protection of the colony. Major Paars was appointed governor, and Captain Landorp commandant. Besides the military, there were a number of artificers, masons, carpenters, and smiths, some of whom came voluntarily, others were taken out of confinement, and were married to females from the house of correction, with the view of peopling the country and establishing a permanent colony. There came also two new missionaries, Messrs. Ohle Lange, and Henry Miltzoug, to assist Mr. Egede in evangelizing the Greenlanders. As the colony was in an unfavourable situation, it was now removed from the island on which it had hitherto been established,

<sup>1</sup> Egede (H.) *Nachricht Gronlandisch. Mission*, p. 65, 71, 78, 89, 95, 123, 127, 134, 163.



to a place on the mainland, some miles distant. This new settlement they called Good Hope. A second colony, which had been begun at Nepisene, about two hundred miles to the northward, and which was afterwards abandoned, was again established by the new settlers.<sup>m</sup>

Scarcely had the winter commenced, when many of the settlers were taken ill, partly, it was supposed, in consequence of the wetness of the summer, when they were obliged to live in tents, and partly from the dampness of their new habitations. So general was the calamity that there was often scarcely a sufficient number well, to attend the sick and to manage the household affairs. The soldiers and artificers died rapidly one after another: in the course of the winter no fewer than forty were laid in the grave. As a natural consequence of this, great discontents arose among them, particularly against Mr. Egede whom they considered as the principal cause of their being sent to so cold and inhospitable a region. The conduct of many of them, particularly of the women, was so reprehensible, that it excited the disapprobation even of the Greenlanders.<sup>n</sup>

In 1731, the ministry of Christian the Sixth, who had now ascended the throne of Denmark, thinking there was no probability that the money expended for so many years on this undertaking would ever be reimbursed by the trade, transmitted orders

<sup>m</sup> Egede (H.) *Nachricht Gronlandisch. Mission*, p. 108, 126, 163, 175, 197.—Egede (P.) *Nachrichten von Gronland*, 53.

<sup>n</sup> Egede (H.) *Nachricht Gronlandisch. Mission*, p. 179, 182, 194.—Egede (P.) *Nachricht von Gronland*, p. 53.



to Greenland that the colonies should be abandoned, and that all the settlers should return home. This mandate was like a thunderbolt to Mr. Egede. It was left, indeed, to his own choice to return with the others, or to remain in the country; and in the latter case, he was allowed to retain as many of the colonists as were willing to stay, and as much provisions as would be sufficient for a year; but he was expressly informed, that he had no further assistance to expect from government. Some of the Greenlanders having been informed, as a reason for the recal of the settlers, that the King had heard they were little the better of all the instructions they received; and that they would not seek after God, but still followed their old courses, they alleged, that whoever had said so to his Majesty, was a great liar; and they, at the same time, entreated Mr. Egede not to leave them, but to inform the King what a well-behaved people they were. As, however, it was impossible for him to remain in the country alone, and as none of the colonists were disposed to stay, he petitioned the governor and the other officers who constituted the council, to appoint eight or ten men to stop with him during the winter in order to preserve the buildings, and other property of the colony which the ships could not carry away that season, and which would otherwise fall a prey to the savages, or to foreigners in the spring. With this request, the council after some difficulty complied. Mr. Egede now beheld, the governor, the officers, the rest of the colonists, and even his two colleagues, take their departure, while he himself, with a few sailors remained behind in a cold inhospitable country, suspended for a



whole year between the hope of assistance, and the fear of being abandoned for ever. °

In 1732, his Majesty Christian the Sixth, in consequence of Mr. Egede's urgent representations, was pleased to send a ship with supplies to Greenland; but without giving him any assurance of further assistance or support. Meanwhile, the blubber trade was more successful than usual, and a larger cargo was sent home this season, than in any of the preceding years, when it was carried on with so much trouble and expense. Encouraged, probably, by this circumstance, his Majesty resolved to renew the trade to Greenland and to prosecute it with more vigour than ever, and he was graciously pleased to order the sum of two thousand rix-dollars to be devoted to the support of the mission. After so many storms, this intelligence afforded Mr. Egede some gleam of hope, but the prospect was quickly overcast, and even became darker than ever. P

In 1733, two of the Greenlanders who had been taken to Denmark by the colonists when they left the country, were sent back to their native land as they did not keep their health in Europe. One of them, a girl, died at sea; the other, a boy, came home to all appearance perfectly well. It was not long, however, before he was seized with an eruptive disorder, and after wandering up and down among his countrymen, he fell a victim to it. One of the next who was taken ill was the Greenland youth Frederick Christian, who was a particular favourite of Mr. Egede's, whom he employed as a kind of

° Egede (H.) Nachricht Gronlandisch. Mission, p. 221.

P Egede (H.) Nachricht Gronlandisch. Mission, p. 235, 243.



catechist among the other children. Nobody at first knew the nature of the disorder, nor any remedy for it; but at length, Mr. Egede discovered it was the small-pox. With the view of checking its progress, he sent intelligence to different parts of the country, warning the Greenlanders of the danger, desiring them to remain in their own habitations, as those who were already infected could not escape, and advising those among whom the disease had not made its appearance, to allow no strangers to visit them, lest they should bring the contagion with them. To these friendly admonitions, however, they were entirely deaf. Such as had caught the disorder, but were not yet confined by it, fled into other parts of the country, and as the Greenlanders never refuse to admit strangers, it spread with amazing rapidity in every quarter.

As this was the first time the small-pox had made its appearance in Greenland, the inhabitants were entirely ignorant of the mode of treatment; and as the disease was at the same time, under a very malignant form, it committed most terrible ravages among them. Few of those who were attacked by it, lived beyond the third day: Some, in despair, stabbed themselves, or plunged into the sea to put a period to their sufferings. One man whose son and daughter died of it, stabbed his wife's sister, and threw her into the sea, under the presumption that she had bewitched them to death. Such, indeed, was the general consternation and distress, that the living did not as usual bewail the dead, not even their nearest and dearest relations.

The distress of the Greenlanders deeply affected Mr. Egede, and notwithstanding the enfeebled state



of his own constitution, he went about from place to place, sometimes alone, and sometimes in company with the Moravian missionaries who had lately come from Germany, or he sent his son among them in order to comfort and instruct the poor dying creatures. In many places, they found nothing but empty houses and unburied corpses, some within and some without doors, lying in the snow. Having been informed, that on a certain island, there was left only one girl, with her three little brothers, Mr. Egede sent and brought them to the colony. Their unfortunate father, finding he was dying, laid himself and his youngest child, who was sick, in a hole, and ordered the girl to cover them with skins and stones, that they might not be devoured by the foxes and ravens. Besides travelling among them, Mr. Egede and the new missionaries kindly lodged all the sick who fled to them. They laid as many of them in their own houses, and even in their bedrooms, as the places would hold; and attended and nursed them as well as they were able, though the stench of the sick and the dying was so insufferable, and the toil they had with them was so great, as materially to affect their own health. Many of the savages were sensibly touched with these acts of kindness; and among others, one who when in health, had often derided Mr. Egede, said to him as he was dying: "Thou hast done for us what our own countrymen would not have done; thou hast fed us when we had nothing to eat; thou hast buried our dead, who would otherwise have been devoured by the dogs, the foxes, and the ravens; thou hast instructed us in the knowledge of God, and told us of a better life to



come.” On the other hand, as Mr. Egede had often informed the savages, that if they prayed to God, he would grant them the good things they asked, some of them now alleged that God did not hear them; that though they cried to him for help, yet he answered them not; and therefore, they would pray to him no longer, a circumstance which should teach the Christian missionary not to speak in too general or too absolute terms, with respect to the efficacy of prayer, as an ignorant untutored pagan is apt to interpret that of temporal, which is true only of spiritual blessings; and even, as to them, the answer is often not immediate, nor in that form which we desire.

In this manner, did this virulent disorder rage among the poor Greenlanders for about twelve months, if not, even still longer, spreading its devastations at least forty leagues northward, and nearly as far to the south. When the traders afterwards went into the country, they found all the houses empty for thirty leagues north. Mr. Egede calculated that in the neighbourhood of the colony, upwards of two thousand persons fell victims to this malignant disease, an immense number, considering the small population of the country.<sup>a</sup>

In 1734, Mr. Martin Ohnsorg, Mr. Andrew Bing, and Mr. Paul Egede, our excellent missionary's eldest son, who had been at Copenhagen prosecuting his studies, were sent to Greenland, together with materials for erecting a new colony in Disco-bay. Mr. Egede had been filled with extraordinary joy

<sup>a</sup> Egede (H.) *Nachricht Gronlandisch. Mission*, p. 243, 246, 253, 255, 258, 261, 263.—Crantz's *History of Greenland*, vol. i. p. 333.—Egede's *Description of Greenland*, p. 120.



on receiving his Majesty's promise that the undertaking should be carried on with fresh vigour; but when only three missionaries arrived, he felt extremely disappointed, as he considered so small a re-enforcement as totally inadequate for the accomplishment of this design. He himself was now so much enfeebled both in body and mind, by the incessant exertions he had made, and the cares, vexations, and hardships he had suffered, that he was no longer able to discharge the duties of a missionary with his former vigour and alacrity. He considered himself, indeed, as bound before God, to promote as long as he lived, the interests of religion in Greenland, but this he apprehended he could do more effectually by leaving the country, than by remaining in it. He, therefore, resolved to return to Europe with the view of communicating full information as to the state of the mission, and of explaining the means by which it might be prosecuted with the greatest prospect of success.

In December 1735, died Mrs. Egede, a woman who well deserves to hold an honourable place among those "daughters who have done virtuously." Notwithstanding the entreaties of her friends, and the scorn of the world, she magnanimously accompanied her husband to the cold inhospitable shores of Greenland, and though the trials which befell them in that country, were so many and so great, yet she not only endured them with singular patience and cheerfulness, but often supported and comforted him when disheartened and dejected by the difficulties and distresses of their situation.<sup>s</sup>

<sup>r</sup> Egede (H.) Nachricht Gronlandisch. Mission, p. 266, 287.

<sup>s</sup> Egede (H.) Nachricht Gronlandisch. Mission, p. 278.



After the loss of his excellent wife, Mr. Egede's health, which had of late been on the decline, was still further impaired; and his spirits were at the same time so depressed, that he sometimes seemed like a man on the brink of despair. One Sabbath in particular, he felt such hatred of God in his heart, and such dislike to hear his word,\* that he absented himself from public worship the whole day, spending it in private, in deep distress without making known his situation to any. In the evening, as he was going to bed, he was struck with great horror of mind. His body began to shake; his tongue he could not move; he felt as if he was beset with the bands of death, and encompassed with the pains of hell. After he had so far recovered as to be able to speak, he burst forth in expressions of despair, as if the Lord had forsaken him. His children and his fellow-labourers, on hearing his moanings, came to his assistance and endeavoured to console him; but he refused to be comforted. His own conscience condemned him, and he thought there was no help for him in God. His mind, indeed, became at length more calm; but yet, for sometime, he was more or less subject to these paroxysms of despondency.

He now prepared to take his departure from a country where he had laboured upwards of fifteen years, amidst innumerable privations, hardships and sufferings, yet apparently with little or no success. He preached his farewell sermon, from these solemn and affecting words: "I said, I have laboured in

\* Egede (H.) Nachricht Gronlandisch. Mission, p. 280, 282.

\* Here I literally translate his own words: "Ich fühlte erstlich solchen hass gegen Gott in meinem hertzen, und solchen abscheu, sein wort zu horen."



vain, I have spent my strength for nought, and in vain; yet surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God.”<sup>u</sup> A scene more melting we are scarcely able to conceive. When we represent to our imagination the good man ascending the pulpit, and hear him read out a text so touching to the soul, and listen to the interesting retrospect which he takes of his past labours, and think of the sad close of the whole, we feel as if our heart like his, would break, and dissolve in tears of sympathy and sorrow.

In August 1736, Mr. Egede sailed from Greenland with his youngest son and two daughters; and after a voyage of about seven weeks, he arrived at Copenhagen. He had soon after an interview with his Majesty, to whom he gave a representation of the state of the mission in Greenland. By his recommendation, a seminary was instituted for the education of catechists and missionaries for Greenland, in which they might acquire the language, as well as other branches of learning, that so they might enter on the work of instructing the natives immediately on their arrival in the country, whereas hitherto, they had been obliged to pass several years, amidst great trials and privations, before they were able to commence their labours. Of this seminary Mr. Egede was appointed the superintendent, with a salary of 500 rix-dollars a year.<sup>v</sup>

In August 1740, Mr. Paul Egede, who had remained in Greenland after the departure of his excellent father, sailed from that country for Den-

<sup>u</sup> Egede (H.) Nachricht Gronländisch. Mission, p. 287.

<sup>v</sup> Egede (H.) Nachricht Gronlandisch. Mission, p. 288.—  
Egede (P.) Nachricht von Gronland, p. 257.



mark. He appears to have possessed the entire confidence of the savages, and to have been greatly beloved by them. Previous to his departure, he had translated the three first books of Moses into the Greenland language; but as Ulphilas, bishop of the Goths, when he translated the Bible into German, omitted the books of Kings, lest they should foster in his countrymen their disposition to war, so the two Greenlanders who assisted Mr. Egede in this undertaking, expressed many objections to the book of Genesis; apprehending it would be better to leave their countrymen ignorant of some of the facts mentioned in it, such as the murder of Abel, by his brother Cain; the imposition practised by Jacob on his father and brother; the polygamy of the patriarchs, and particularly, the perfidy of Simeon and Levi in massacring the inhabitants of Shechem. A selection of the most important passages, they apprehended, would be more useful to their countrymen. Mr. Egede himself, appears to have formed a similar opinion as his native assistants, and regretted that he had spent so much time in translating the books of Moses. He, therefore, began a version of the New Testament, a short time before he left Greenland, and after his return to Europe, he completed the work.<sup>w</sup>

In 1750, Mr. Paul Egede published a Dictionary of the Greenland language, with an explanation of the words in Danish and Latin. Ten years after, he printed a Greenland Grammar: he also published his translation of the New Testament. It was not, however, approved of by the missionaries who were

<sup>w</sup> Egede (P.) *Nachricht von Gronland*, p. 146, 166, 180, 196, 213, 246, 258.



settled in Greenland. After his death, Mr. Fabricius who had also left the country a great many years, made another translation of the New Testament into the Greenland language. This, however, was no better than the other: it was extremely incorrect, and was not even understood by the people. Besides these works, the Danish missionaries printed one or two Spelling books, a Catechism, and a Hymn book in the Greenland language. <sup>x</sup>

In the meanwhile, the mission to Greenland was prosecuted with greater vigour than ever, probably, in consequence of Mr. Egede's personal exertions in Denmark. New colonies were established in various places on the western coast, from the sixty-first to the seventy-third degree of North Latitude; and missionaries or catechists were settled in most of them. The following were the principal of these establishments:

| Begun. | Colonies.         | Begun. | Colonies.                 |
|--------|-------------------|--------|---------------------------|
| 1721   | Good Hope,        | 1759   | Egede's Memorial,         |
| 1734   | Christian's Hope, | 1768   | Umanak,                   |
| 1741   | Jacob's Haven,    | 1773   | Good Haven,               |
| 1742   | Frederick's Hope, | 1776   | Julianes' Hope,           |
| 1752   | Claus Haven,      | 1778   | Crown Prince Island,      |
| 1755   | Zukkertop,        |        | Klokkerhuk,               |
| 1755   | Rittenbenk,       |        | Hund Island,              |
| 1756   | Holsteinburg,     | 1797   | Nennortelik. <sup>y</sup> |

In 1786, there were ten missionaries in the Danish colonies in Greenland, and double that number of catechists and schoolmasters. But since that time,

<sup>x</sup> Edinburgh Encyclopedia, vol. x. p. 502.—MS. Accounts in the Author's possession.

<sup>y</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 4.—Egede (P.) Nachricht von Gronland, 272, 282.—Edin. Encyclop. vol. x. 482.—Morav. Period. Accounts, vol. viii. p. 84.



the number of missionaries has been considerably diminished, in consequence of which, one missionary had to serve several colonies. The most populous among them, was generally the place of his residence; from whence he paid visits in the summer to the other settlements, administered the Lord's Supper to the inhabitants, baptized their children, and performed the other duties attached to his office. On the whole coast there are five churches, namely, at Good Hope, Jacob's Haven, Frederick's Hope, Claus Haven, and Holsteinburg. The general superintendence of the trade, and the administration of the laws, are vested by the king in two governors or inspectors, one of whom resides at Good Hope, in the south; the other at Good Haven, on Disco island. Their power is very extensive; but is restricted to the colonies; the Greenlanders being without laws, except such individuals among them as are in the pay of the Danish government.<sup>z</sup>

With regard to the number of converts in the several Danish colonies in Greenland, we possess no certain information; but from what we have heard, we fear, that most of them are little better than Christians in name. Many of them, however, have obtained some knowledge of the gospel; and its beneficial influence is obvious in promoting civilization among them; there is a marked difference between their manners and customs, and those of their Pagan countrymen. With regard to the arts of life, it is necessary to leave them to the occupations proper for the country, as the catching of

<sup>z</sup> Egede (P.) Nachricht von Gronland, p. 316.—Edin. Encyclop. vol. x. p. 482.—MS. Accounts in the Author's possession.



seals, the chase of birds, and the hunting of the reindeer, by which means they not only provide for the subsistence of themselves and their families, but are able to sell seal-bacon, seal skins, and other articles to the colonists, for which they receive in return, implements for seal fishing, and other kinds of European goods. <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> MS. Accounts in the Author's possession.



## CHAPTER SIXTH.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE UNITED  
BRETHREN.

**T**HE United Brethren, or, as they are more commonly called, the Moravians, are generally supposed to have taken their rise from Nicholas Lewis, Count Zinzendorf, a German nobleman, soon after the commencement of the eighteenth century. They themselves, however, trace their origin to the churches of Bohemia, which, even previous to the Reformation, maintained the principles of Christianity in no inconsiderable degree of purity, and were distinguished by giving birth to these two illustrious martyrs, John Huss and Jerome of Prague.<sup>a</sup>

After a variety of revolutions in their external circumstances, the churches of Bohemia obtained, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, an edict from the Emperor of Germany, granting them a toleration of their religion, and ratifying that important privilege under the imperial sanction. But this was only like the still calm which often precedes a storm. In 1612, an attempt was made by government to compel them to receive the decrees of the council of Trent, and to return to the bosom of the Catholic church. Being at length driven to despair by multiplied and incessant oppressions, the people rose in arms to defend their religion and liberties; but after the unfortunate battle of Prague

<sup>a</sup> Crantz's History of the Brethren, p. 13, 22.



in 1620, they were either compelled to submit to the conqueror, or were driven into exile with the Elector Palatine, whom they had chosen for their king. Numbers of them, indeed, were afterwards allured, by the promise of pardon, to return to their country; but notwithstanding this promise, some of them were perfidiously condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and others to an ignominious death. In one day, no fewer than twenty-seven of the principal lords and defenders of the Bohemian faith were beheaded on the scaffold. The flames of persecution being once kindled, spread over the whole country, and committed terrible ravages among the miserable inhabitants. By plunderings, by tortures, by executions, the people were driven to the utmost extremities; and many of them either renounced their religion, or fled from the kingdom, leaving the whole of their property behind them. But as these violent measures, instead of reconciling the nation to the church of Rome, threatened to depopulate the country, the ministers were banished from the kingdom, in the hope that the people, deprived of their spiritual guides, would submit the more readily to the impositions of the Catholic priests. Many of them, however, hid themselves in caves and in mountains, and from these fastnesses visited their desolate congregations; but being detected in these labours of love, some of them were put to death, and others finally expelled from the country. Many of the nobility still remained steadfast to their ancient faith, and encouraged the people with the hope of regaining their liberties; but in 1627, after having been drained of most of their wealth, and stripped of their estates, they were banished from



the kingdom. Hundreds of noble and respectable families now took refuge in the neighbouring countries; and though the common people were carefully watched to prevent their emigration, yet thousands of them also fled into exile from the tyranny of their oppressors. \* Many of these went into Silesia; still greater numbers retired into Prussia and Poland; but most of them escaped into Saxony and Upper Lusatia, where, from a variety of causes, they were soon lost among the general mass of the inhabitants; and though some of them formed particular congregations, and even founded new villages, yet their posterity degenerated from the virtues of their ancestors, and conformed to the manners of the people around them: there was only a small number who continued stedfast to their ancient faith. <sup>b</sup>

Thus the churches of Bohemia were reduced to the brink of ruin; but early in the eighteenth century, there was a considerable revival of religion among the exiles in various places, and even in that country, where numbers of the people still remained inimical to the church of Rome, and continued to hold their meetings in private. Among others, a man of the name of Christian David was distinguished as the happy instrument of rekindling the

<sup>b</sup> Crantz's Hist. Breth. p. 64, 82.

\* Some idea may be formed of the dreadful depopulation of the country, occasioned by these revolutions, from this singular fact, that in the reign of Rudolphus the inhabitants of Bohemia were said to amount to three millions, whereas after the civil wars they did not exceed four hundred thousand. More than thirty thousand families are said to have taken refuge in foreign countries. *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, vol. iii. p. 636.



dying embers of vital religion in Moravia. Some of those who were awakened by his conversation and exhortations, begged him to procure them an asylum in some Protestant country, as in their own land they were not only exposed to persecution, but were in a great measure destitute of the means of religious instruction. Having failed in his first attempts for this purpose, he, at length, made application in their behalf to Count Zinzendorf, a pious nobleman who had lately returned from his travels, and who readily granted them permission to settle on his domains. Little did the Count then suspect the various consequences which were to result from this simple incident, or the important part which he himself was to act in those vast undertakings to which it speedily gave rise. <sup>c</sup>

In the summer of 1722, Christian David returned from Moravia, with two families of the name of Neisser, consisting of ten persons, one half of whom were children. Upon their arrival on Count Zinzendorf's estate in Upper Lusatia, they proceeded to build a house for themselves, and thus laid the foundation of the celebrated village of Herrnhuth. Christian David returned to Moravia the following year, and visited a number of the villages where the descendants of the ancient brethren resided. By his conversation and prayers, hundreds of them were awakened to a concern about their souls; they often held meetings together during the whole of the night; but being discovered, they were summoned before their superiors, threatened with slavery in the galleys, and even with capital punish-

<sup>c</sup> Crantz's Hist. Breth. p. 91.



ments. Many were actually thrown into prison, and others suffered severe corporal punishment. Harassed by these outrageous proceedings, several of them determined to leave the country, and after encountering many difficulties and dangers, they happily effected their purpose. An oath which now began to be imposed, as a religious test on all suspected persons, induced still greater numbers to take the same resolution; and it is worthy of notice, how wonderfully they were often favoured by Providence in their flight. Some of them were enabled to disentangle themselves from the fetters with which they were bound, to leap from high prisons without injury, to pass through their guards undiscovered in open day, or to escape from their pursuit. Even when stopped on the road, the upright representation of the cause of their emigration, and the piteous cries of their children, often so melted the hearts of their countrymen, that they suffered them to pass unmolested. Some of them afterwards returned and sought an opportunity of bringing away their husbands or wives, their parents or children, their brothers or sisters, and though their enemies watched them in the most rigorous manner, they often succeeded in these dangerous enterprises beyond expectation. It was remarked, however, that such as secretly disposed of their property, and took the money with them, or attempted to leave the country with loaded waggons, were frequently betrayed or stopped on the road, carried back again, or plundered of their effects. One of this description having been attacked by robbers, and nearly murdered by them, was afterwards obliged



to travel more than a hundred and twenty miles with only about three-pence in his pocket. <sup>d</sup>

Count Zinzendorf, who, for several years, was generally absent at the court of Dresden, had at first imagined that only a few persecuted families would settle on his domains, to whom therefore he could not refuse an asylum. As, however, a considerable number of these refugees were now collected at Herrnhuth, he endeavoured to persuade them to unite themselves with the Lutheran church, which was established by law, and of which he was a zealous member. But notwithstanding this advice, they resolved that a constitution of nearly three hundred years' standing, on account of which many of their ancestors had suffered and bled and died, and which they had handed down to them as a most precious inheritance, should on no account be abandoned by them. They agreed, however, not to separate from the Lutheran church, but still to hold communion with it; while, at the same time, they maintained among themselves the Bohemian constitution and discipline. In this decision, the Count at last acquiesced: he afterwards became the head of the whole body, and was consecrated one of their bishops. <sup>e</sup>

The Count, even at an early period of his life, had turned his attention to the miserable state of the heathen world, and within a few years after the building of Herrnhuth, the Brethren began to direct their views to the same important object. Some incidental circumstances at length called forth their

<sup>d</sup> Crantz's Hist. Breth. p. 97, 103, 108.—Risler Erzählungen aus der Geschichte der Bruder Kirche, tom. ii. p. 32, 36.

<sup>e</sup> Crantz's Hist. Breth. p. 109, 123, 136, 169, 215, 291.



zeal into action, and ever since that period, it has burned with a pure and uninterrupted flame. In 1731, when the Count attended the coronation of Christian the Sixth, the King of Denmark, at Copenhagen, he saw two of the natives of Greenland who had been baptized by Mr. Egede, and he learned, with regret, that the Danish government had resolved to abandon the mission in that country. About the same time, a negro called Anthony, who had contracted an acquaintance with some of his servants, informed them, that he had a sister in the island of St. Thomas in the West Indies, who earnestly desired to be instructed in the principles of religion; but as she had neither time nor opportunity for it, she often besought the great God to send some person to shew her the way of salvation. Anthony having soon after visited Herrnhuth, again declared, in the presence of many of the congregation, the desire of his countrymen, and especially of his sister, for Christian instruction; but he added, that the negroes, in consequence of their accumulated labours, could have no opportunity of religious improvement, unless their teacher was himself a slave to instruct them in the midst of their daily avocations. This representation made so deep an impression on John Leonard Dober, and Tobias Leupold, both of them young men, that they offered not only to go to St. Thomas, but, with a philanthropy which, perhaps, has scarcely a parallel in the annals of history, TO SELL THEMSELVES AS SLAVES, in order to make known the Redeemer to the negroes, particularly to the poor woman who so ardently longed for Christian instruction, should they find no other way of accomplishing their purpose. Their



proposal, however, was but coldly received by the congregation in general, with the exception of Count Zinzendorf. Most of the Brethren considered it as merely a momentary effusion of youthful zeal; but that were the experiment made, it would be found attended with insuperable difficulties. More than a twelvemonth elapsed before any thing was done; but the matter was at last referred to the lot, a method of learning the will of God, which, though very exceptionable, is extremely common among the Brethren. With respect to Dober, the decision proved favourable; as to Leupold, the conclusion was that he should not go for the present. Such were the interesting circumstances which gave birth to the exertions of the United Brethren for the conversion of the heathen.<sup>f</sup>

It is worthy of particular observation, that when the Moravians sent forth their first missionaries, the congregation consisted only of about six hundred persons, most of whom were poor despised exiles; yet this inconsiderable company made such noble and extensive exertions for the conversion of the Heathen, as reflect not only the highest honour on themselves, but indelible disgrace on all the rest of the Christian world. In the short period of eight or nine years, they sent missionaries to Greenland, to St. Thomas, to St. Croix, to Surinam, to Berbice, to the Indians of North America, to the Negroes of South Carolina, to Lapland, to Tartary, to Guinea, to the Cape of Good Hope, and to the island of

<sup>f</sup> Crantz's History of Greenland, vol. i. p. 317.—Oldendorp Geschichte der Mission auf St. Thomas, St. Croix, und St. Jan, tom. ii. p. 453.



Ceylon.<sup>s \*</sup> Of these important undertakings, we shall now proceed to give some account, beginning with the mission to Greenland.

<sup>s</sup> Crantz's Hist. Breth. p. 169, 184.

\* While the United Brethren were labouring with the energy and the zeal of apostles in heathen lands, and exhibiting the spirit of the gospel in all its native lustre and beauty, the Christian world was calumniating their character, misrepresenting their principles, and charging them with the foulest crimes. The writings of Count Zinzendorf, in particular, were ransacked, and often mutilated, misquoted, and falsely translated, in order to prove that the church of which he was a distinguished member, held errors of the wildest and most dangerous nature. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that the Brethren gave some occasion for the aspersions which were thrown upon them. The Count, though a good man, appears to have been chargeable with great improprieties of expression. He commonly delivered two or three discourses every day, either in public or to his family, which was generally large: His sermons were, in the strictest sense of the word, *extempore*, yet such was the veneration in which he was held by his brethren, that they were commonly taken down as he delivered them, and the publication of them was in many instances urged by the hearers. As he, however, was pressed with numerous other avocations, he did not spend that time in revising them which the nature of the case demanded. Some he never reviewed at all; and some were not only incorrectly, but even falsely printed. In consequence of these circumstances, doctrines of which he never dreamed were deduced from his writings; and some of his transient private opinions were laid to the charge of the whole church of the Brethren. Having himself found positions in the works which passed under his name which he neither professed nor believed, he published a declaration in the public papers, that he could not acknowledge any writings which had been printed in his name, unless they were revised and corrected by him in a new edition. He began this work in German; but died before it was finished.

It must also be acknowledged that at one period, particularly from 1747 to 1753, great extravagancies both in doctrine and



## SECTION I.

## GREENLAND.

IN January 1733, Christian David, Matthew Stach, and Christian Stach, set off from Herrnhuth in Upper Lusatia, on a mission to the inhospitable shores of Greenland. "There was no need," says one of them, "of much time or expense for our equipment. The congregation consisted chiefly of

practice made their appearance among the congregation at Herrnhag, a settlement of the Brethren in the county of Buedingen, now uninhabited and in ruins. Count Zinzendorf having in an ode on the birth-day of his son, employed some puerile unintelligible expressions relative to the believer's love to the Redeemer, others of the Brethren following his example, indulged in language, which if possible, was still more foolish and trifling. In their discourses, hymns, and other writings, they employed the strangest expressions, and the wildest allusions when speaking of the most sacred truths of religion, particularly of the sufferings of Christ, and the experience of his people. Each strove to surpass another in this senseless mystical jargon; and the evil which first made its appearance at Herrnhag, spread like a contagious disease among the other congregations of the Brethren. A great part of the members were contaminated with these silly reveries: others finding themselves unable to check the malady, wept over it in secret, while some who considered it as utterly incurable, left the society.

Though Count Zinzendorf had set the example of these extravagancies, yet no sooner did he learn the excesses into which many of the Brethren were running, than he strenuously exerted himself to counteract the evil. Most of those who had fallen into these fooleries, were convinced of their error, and acknowledged it with grief and shame. After a short time, the hymns, and other writings which contained their reveries,



poor exiles, who had not much to give us, and we ourselves had nothing but the clothes on our backs. Being accustomed to make a shift with little, we did not trouble our heads how we should get to Greenland, or how we should live in that country. Some money having come from a friend at Venice,

were formally disavowed, and cancelled by a Synod of the Church of the Brethren.

The Moravians have been charged with licentiousness in practice, as well as with unsoundness in doctrine; but nothing can be more unfounded than such an accusation. We apprehend there is no body of Christians in the whole world, who have displayed so much of the spirit of Christianity as the United Brethren. Even when that species of enthusiasm to which we have alluded was at its height, the greatest strictness with respect to the duties of morality, was not only inculcated, but preserved among them. Individuals may have been guilty of faults of various kinds, but these it would be very unfair to charge on the Brethren as a body. *Spangenberg's Exposition of Christian Doctrine as taught in the Church of the Brethren*, preface p. iii. *Crantz's History of the Brethren*, p. 218, 244, 298, 367. *Christian Observer*, vol. vii. p. 196.

With respect to the fundamental principles of Christianity, it appears from Spangenberg's Exposition, that the views of the Moravians are essentially the same as those of serious Christians of other denominations. There are some points, however, on which we are by no means disposed to vindicate the sentiments and practices of the Brethren. They have introduced many regulations into their congregations, which we apprehend, have no foundation in the Holy Scriptures, and which but ill accord with the simplicity of the Christian system: They conclude persons to be converted on grounds, which to us appear quite too slender, and even of a very questionable nature: They lay an unreasonable stress on feelings, and impressions, and seem to consider the confidence which a man has of the pardon of his sins, as the essence of faith in Christ, or at least, as a principal evidence of his being in a state of grace. Though their sentiments with respect to the doctrine



the day before our departure, we received part of it to pay the expense of our journey to Copenhagen; and as we considered ourselves as richly provided for, we would take nothing of any person on the road, believing that he who had sent a supply for our journey at the critical moment, would take care

of the Trinity are perfectly correct, yet the Son appears too exclusively the object of their worship; and even with respect to him, they indulge in some of their hymns, in a familiarity of expression, and a meanness of allusion, which ill accord with the divine dignity of his character, and the holy reverence which is due to him by creatures. In short, though in the course of the last century they materially improved their phraseology, we apprehend there is still considerable room for further improvement in their manner of expression, as well as in their mode of thinking on these and some other points of Christian theology.

As a confutation of the calumnies which have been so liberally thrown on the United Brethren, and as a confirmation of the high opinion we have expressed of these extraordinary men, we cannot forbear introducing in this place, the following testimonies from some modern writers. "I feel myself bound," says Dr. Haweis, "from near forty years' acquaintance with the Brethren, to speak of those whom I have known, as men full of faith, and of the Holy Ghost, and truly devoted to the work and service of our crucified Lord. I am perfectly convinced of the unfaithful reports of a Rimius, excluded from their society for immorality, as well as of a Warburton, a Lavington, and the translator of Mosheim, who have adopted the calumnies of so prejudiced an accuser. I am informed that the impure and malignant note against the Brethren, inserted by the latter in his Ecclesiastical History, he would from a conviction of its injustice have expunged, but the copy being shown to" Dr. Warburton "the author of the *Divine Legation*, the bishop engaged him to let it stand, and there it remains a monument of the bitterness, the bigotry, and the falsehood of these accusers of the Brethren. With peculiarities, some of them perhaps exceptionable, yet admitting of no such



for every thing that was necessary for carrying our purpose into execution as soon as we should want it. Neither could any one give us much information on the subject of our work, or many instructions how we should proceed: for the congregation had as yet no experience in the management of missions. It was, therefore, left to ourselves to act in all circumstances, as the Lord should lead us. In short, we neither knew nor imagined how it would be with us."

impure ideas as these men have imputed to them, the more the principles of the Brethren are truly known, and the more intimately their lives are scrutinized, the more will they be acknowledged among the few faithful who follow the Lamb of God." *Haweis' Church History*, vol. iii, p. 177.

"The Moravians," says the late Mr. Cecil, "have very nearly hit on Christianity. They appear to have found out what sort of a thing it is,—its quietness—meekness—patience—spirituality—heavenliness—and order." *Cecil's Remains*, 6th Edit. p. 242.

After alluding in terms perhaps sufficiently strong to the improprieties of expression with which some of the early Moravians were chargeable, Mr. Wilberforce bears a no less honourable testimony to the general excellence of the Brethren. "This body of Christians," says he, "have since reclaimed their character, and have perhaps excelled all mankind in solid and unequivocal proofs of the love of Christ, and of the most ardent, and active, and patient zeal in his service. It is a zeal tempered with prudence, softened with meekness, soberly aiming at great ends by the gradual operation of well adapted means, supported by a courage which no danger can intimidate, and a quiet constancy which no hardships can exhaust." *Wilberforce's Practical View of Christianity*, 9th Edit. p. 51. High as these eulogiums may appear, they are nothing more than a simple statement of facts, as the reader will have abundant evidence in the following account of the Brethren's missions.



Such were the circumstances in which these simple unlettered men set out on their journey. On their arrival at Copenhagen, they were received with much kindness by Professor Ewald, a member of the College of Missions, and by M. Reuss, his Majesty's chaplain. Their design, however, of going to Greenland appeared to many extremely romantic and unseasonable, especially as the mission and colony already established in that country seemed now on the brink of ruin, and were even probably abandoned for ever. \* Besides, how could they get thither, since there was no likelihood any ship would undertake such a voyage for the purpose of trade? Or if a vessel should be sent to bring back the few people who still remained behind, how was it possible for three solitary individuals to subsist in so cold and barren a country, without assistance or supplies from home? The probability was, they would either be murdered by the savages, or perish with hunger, or die of disease as most of the colonists had done four years before.

Such was the unfavourable prospect before them; yet they were not disheartened by these difficulties or these reasonings. Full of simple confidence in God, they waited in humble expectation, that he who had called them to the undertaking, would enable them to carry it into execution. After some time, they learned that the king had consented to send a ship once more to Greenland, and in consequence of the representations of the Lord Chamberlain Pless, his Majesty accepted of the offer of the Brethren in the most gracious manner; and after considering

\* See page 251.



the subject further, he resolved to promote, with new vigour, the improvement of the country and the conversion of the inhabitants. He not only permitted the three Brethren to go thither as missionaries, but desired that others might follow them; and he was even so condescending as to write a letter with his own hand to Mr. Egede, recommending them to his attention and friendship. Several other distinguished persons, who were friendly to the object, countenanced them with their approbation, and afforded them pecuniary assistance. The Lord Chamberlain Pless, one day, asked them, How they proposed to live in Greenland? "They intended," they replied, "to build a house, and to cultivate the land by the labour of their hands, that they might not be burdensome to any." To this he objected, that there was no wood in the country to build with. "Then," said they, "we will dig into the earth, and lodge there." Struck with their self-denial, he replied: "No: you shall not do that: Take wood with you and build a house: Accept of these fifty dollars for that purpose." With this and other contributions, the Brethren purchased materials for building; various articles of household furniture; some implements of husbandry; and other useful articles.<sup>a</sup>

Having at length sailed from Copenhagen, the missionaries after an agreeable voyage of about six weeks, landed safe in Greenland. Immediately on their arrival, they repaired to Mr. Egede, and delivered to him their letters of recommendation. He gave them, as might be expected, a most cordial

<sup>a</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 322.



welcome, congratulated them on their undertaking, and promised them his best assistance in learning the language. Having fixed on a spot for a settlement near the colony of Good Hope, they built themselves a house; but, they at first found no small difficulty in acquiring a maintenance in the country. They were able to procure little or nothing by hunting or fishing, as they had not been trained to these occupations; neither were they able to follow the method of the Greenlanders, as they could not manage a kajak. \* The first time they went in search of wood among the islands, they were overtaken by a storm; and though they reached home, after much difficulty, yet during the night, their boat and the wood they had collected were driven away by the wind. In a few days, indeed, some of the Greenlanders brought the boat back again, but, as might be expected, it was materially damaged. Apprehending that these trials were a warning to them not to entangle themselves with the cares of the present life, the Brethren came to a resolution to follow the example of some of their friends in Europe, and when other work failed, to earn some necessaries by the humble occupation of spinning. <sup>b</sup>

Agreeably to his promise of assisting them in learning the language, Mr. Egede lent them a copy of the remarks he had made upon it, and ordered his children to explain it to them. But the difficulties which these unlettered men had to encounter in acquiring it, would have proved absolutely in-

<sup>b</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 326, 328, 331.

\* The small boat of the Greenlanders.



surmountable, had they not been endowed with a most extraordinary measure of patience. They had to learn the Danish language, before they could even understand their instructors; and as they had probably never before seen a grammar, it must have been no easy task for them even to form distinct ideas of the numerous terms of that intricate art, as nouns, cases, verbs, persons, moods. After this they had to acquire the Greenland language, containing a variety of declensions and conjugations, diversified by new moods, and perplexed with suffixes of pronouns both active and passive, and to commit to memory a large vocabulary of words, the Greenlanders having often many different terms to express the same idea. Besides the savages would enter into no conversation with them, and even aggravated all their other difficulties, by stealing the books they had written with immense labour and care. The missionaries, indeed, wisely resolved not to speak with the Greenlanders on the subject of religion for the present, not even for improving themselves in the language, lest by employing improper and equivocal expressions, they should give them erroneous conceptions of divine truth.

The Brethren, indeed, had, at present, little opportunity of conversing with the Greenlanders, or of holding any kind of intercourse with them. Though the savages were at that time very numerous in Balls river; yet during the summer they were so dispersed among the islands and the hills, catching seals or hunting rein-deer, and towards winter they were so accustomed to go sixty, a hundred, and even two hundred leagues to the north or the south,



that the missionaries seldom saw them. Some, indeed, called on them occasionally as they passed, but it was merely from curiosity to see their buildings, or to beg for fish-hooks, knives, and other similar articles, or even to carry them off by stealth. When the Brethren went to visit them on the islands, they seldom found any who would entertain them, even though they offered to pay them; and instead of entering into conversation with them, the savages were continually asking them, whether they would not soon go away.

These, however, were not the only trials which the Brethren had to endure at the commencement of their missionary career. It was only a few months after their arrival, that the small-pox made its appearance in Greenland, and committed such terrible ravages among the inhabitants, as to threaten to depopulate the whole country. The Brethren, as we have already mentioned, assisted Mr. Egede in visiting the sick and the dying; but they themselves were, at length, successively attacked with an eruptive disorder, which so increased during the winter, that they were often confined to bed, and were scarcely able to move their limbs. Happily, however, they were not all ill at the same time, but one of them was always able to nurse the others, and even to go with the colony's boat, to visit the savages. During the indisposition of the Brethren, Mr. Egede shewed them all the kindness of a father and a friend; and his excellent wife never omitted sending them some refreshment or cordial, when she had any herself. They were, indeed, so generous to them, that the missionaries of-



ten felt scrupulous in accepting the many favours with which they loaded them.<sup>c</sup>

In such inauspicious circumstances did the Brethren pass the first year in Greenland. Indeed, Christian David and Christian Stach began to think of returning home by the first opportunity, as they did not see what good they could do in a country so completely depopulated by the late dreadful ravages of the small-pox, while the few inhabitants who remained, appeared totally averse to the gospel.

In March 1734, two other missionaries, Frederick Boehnish and John Beck, were sent by the congregation to the assistance of the Brethren in Greenland, with the strongest assurances of their design to support the mission. This raised the drooping spirits of the missionaries, and inspired them with fresh courage. Rough as was their post, they determined to stand stedfast by it, in the hope that God would crown their labours with success. They now applied to the study of the language with new diligence and alacrity; but the further they proceeded, the more difficult they found it, especially as they were no longer satisfied with such expressions as were applicable, merely to the common affairs of life, but began to translate into it the language of Scripture, and other phrases relative to vital religion. They were told, indeed, by their instructors, that it was impossible to translate any but historical pieces, as the Greenlanders had no terms in their language to express the peculiar doctrines of the gospel, and could not even form the

<sup>c</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 332, 338.



most distant idea of spiritual things. The Brethren, however, were not discouraged by these accounts; and in the course of a few years they made further progress in the language than they could ever have imagined, especially after some of the natives embraced Christianity, and found words themselves to express the views and feelings of their heart.<sup>d</sup>

Meanwhile, as the missionaries were not yet able to discourse with the savages concerning religion, they read to them some of those pieces which Mr. Egede had translated, as the creed, the ten commandments, and the Lord's prayer; they reminded them of what he had taught them; refreshed their memory in what they had forgotten; rectified what they had misunderstood; and told them, as well as they were able, that it was necessary not only to understand the gospel, but to feel its influence on their heart.

With the view of observing the state of the country, and learning the condition, customs, and language of the inhabitants, as well as of sowing the seed of the word among them, the Brethren made frequent voyages to the islands and other places. One day as they were preparing for an expedition of this kind, the only woman's boat \* they possessed, was raised from the ground by a violent tempest, carried some hundred paces in the air, and dashed to pieces on a rock. This reduced them to a sad dilemma; but Mr. Egede was so kind as to give them an old European boat, and materials to repair it; and when they had not hands to man it, he sometimes lent them a small boat to follow their

<sup>d</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 345.

\* The large boat of the Greenlanders.



occupation in the neighbourhood; he likewise frequently took them with him to visit the heathen. They also occasionally went in company with the traders; but as the savages saw that they readily put their hands to any kind of work, they at first imagined they were the factor's servants, and on that account slighted and despised them. But when they understood that they came not to trade with them, but to make known their Creator to them; and observed, at the same time, that they were distinguished from the other Europeans by the meekness and modesty of their behaviour, they formed a higher opinion of them. By degrees, indeed, their friendly deportment towards them, untainted with jesting or licentiousness, yet unsoured with harshness or austerity, so won their affection and confidence, that they sought their conversation, constrained them to go into their houses, begged them often to come and see them, and promised to visit them in return.

Agreeably to their promises, numbers of the Greenlanders returned the visits which the Brethren made them in the course of their voyages. The selfishness of their design, however, was obvious. Sometimes they wanted shelter or victuals; sometimes they wished to have a couple of needles or some similar trifle; sometimes they even bluntly declared, that if the Brethren would give them no more stock-fish, they would no longer hear their words; for the savages imagined that they conferred a mighty obligation on the missionaries by listening to their instructions, and that they were entitled to payment for condescending to hear and believe them. The Brethren, indeed, could not, in



conscience, send them away empty, as the cold was so intense that the poor creatures were unable to procure a sufficient maintenance for themselves, and many of them had often scarcely a morsel to eat for several days together. Afterward, on the return of summer, when they caught plenty of game, and had danced, perhaps, during the whole night at a revel, they still occasionally visited the Brethren; but they were generally so sleepy, that it was impossible to carry on any serious conversation with them; or they were merely curious to hear some news, to see what was strange, or to obtain such things as happened to attract their fancy; and if the missionaries found it necessary to deny their request, they were obliged to watch them narrowly, lest they should secretly carry off the article which they coveted. This often rendered their visits extremely troublesome; but yet the Brethren did not choose to treat them harshly, lest it should frighten them away altogether. Indifferent as were the motives of the savages, they were obliged to be satisfied for the present with their willingness to visit them; and they even drew encouragement from this of more propitious days.\*

In 1735, the Brethren had to endure a more terrible calamity than any which had yet befallen them, the awful horrors of famine. They had been supplied the year before with the necessaries of life, by an eminent benefactor at the court of Denmark; but this season, they were entirely forgotten, and even some articles which could not come with the last missionaries for want of room, were neglected

\* Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 348.



to be sent them. They were now, therefore, involved in deep distress, as they had nothing before them but the prospect of starvation. The amount of their provisions for the whole year was only a barrel and a half of oatmeal, most of which they bartered at the colony for a little malt, half a barrel of pease, and a small quantity of ship biscuit. Hitherto, indeed, they had been pretty successful both in fishing and hunting; but this season they were able to catch little or nothing, as there was a great scarcity of beasts, birds, and fishes. They had, therefore, no other resource except to buy seals from the Greenlanders. But no sooner did the savages learn that they were in want, than they raised their articles very high; and even most of them, particularly those with whom they were best acquainted, and to whom they had lately shewn much kindness, refused to sell them provisions at any price. Often, after rowing among them for two or three days together, the poor missionaries, by their utmost entreaties, could scarcely procure more than half a seal, and as that was soon consumed, they were glad to pacify the cravings of nature, by eating shell-fish or raw sea-weed. The savages, indeed, would be rioting in plenty, while they were starving with hunger. At one banquet, which lasted the whole night, the Brethren saw eleven seals devoured by the gluttons, while they, with all their entreaties, could not move the unfeeling wretches to sell them a single morsel.

Besides suffering the horrors of famine, the missionaries had now to increase their labours, and thus were exposed to further dangers. Urged by the cravings of hunger, they could not always wait



for settled weather to embark on the ocean; but were often compelled to trust themselves to the mercy of the waves, even when the day was stormy, in an old crazy boat, and that to the distance of several leagues. Once, when they had nearly got to land, they were hurried two leagues back by a sudden squall, and were completely wet by the breakers; and in this state they were obliged to remain on an island till the fourth day, exposed to all the inclemency of the weather. On another occasion, after being completely fatigued at their oars, they stopped all night in an uninhabited spot, and were obliged to rest satisfied with a little seal's flesh, which they procured from a Greenlander at a feast, but, in fact, they could scarcely eat any of it for weariness and cold. As they had no tent, they lay down in a hole in the snow, and as that was at length closed up by the drift, they had to rise from their retreat and warm themselves by running. Sometimes they ventured in serene weather to embark in a kajak, and to angle for fish. But one of them was once overset by a sudden squall of wind, and would certainly have been drowned, had not two Greenlanders, who were near at hand, come to his assistance, bound him fast between their boats, and towed him safe to land.

In the midst of all these trials, the providence of God was often remarkably displayed in their behalf. He who sent a raven to feed the prophet Elijah disposed a Greenlander, called Ippegau, to come forty leagues from the south, and to sell them, from time to time, whatever he could spare. One day, the boatmen found a dead whale, and gave them a couple of meals of it. Another time, a Green-



lander left them a porpoise taken out of the belly of the dam, which served them for a meal, after they had eaten nothing but shell-fish for five days. As they were returning home, on another occasion, quite empty, they were driven by a contrary wind on a desolate island, and were obliged to remain there all night. Here they spied an eagle on her nest and shot her. They had, indeed, to climb up a steep and dangerous precipice to reach the place; but the prize they obtained, they considered as an ample reward of their trouble.

Impelled by necessity, the Brethren had inured themselves to the eating of seals' flesh, mixing up the little oatmeal they had left with the train oil; yet disagreeable as this was, it was a perfect delicacy in comparison of the old tallow candles which they were obliged to use when they had no train oil. As long, indeed, as they could procure any seals, they retained their health and strength tolerably well; but in the following spring, when they could obtain no more of this kind of food, and were obliged to subsist on shell-fish and sea-weed, their strength declined so much, that they could scarcely manage their boat. Once, when they had not drawn it far enough on land, owing to their extreme weakness, it was very much damaged by a high tide and storm.<sup>f</sup>

In May 1736, after a long continued train of sufferings, they very unexpectedly received a supply of provisions from Holland, with a promise of future assistance from that country. They had just returned from a toilsome excursion, in which they

<sup>f</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 356, 360.



could get nothing, and therefore were the more struck with the wonderful interposition of Providence in their behalf. This supply, so extremely seasonable, was the more extraordinary, as neither they nor any of the congregation had expressed the least desire of that kind to their friends in Holland; but the Lord had put it into the heart of a Mr. Le Long to make an experiment, whether he could not transmit them some stores by the ships from that country. He was also so kind as promise, that if they received them, he would solicit the aid of some other friends, and send them further supplies the following season. This generous offer the missionaries gladly accepted, and requested, that in case he could convey them nothing else, he would at least send them a strong durable boat, an article they stood much in need of for gaining their subsistence, and for rendering them less dependant on supplies from abroad.<sup>g</sup>

About this period, the Brethren had no opportunities of making distant visits among the Greenlanders, but were obliged to confine their labours to those in their own neighbourhood, few of whom were disposed to receive instruction. At one time, the savages would not listen to them, because they had some business, or, perhaps, a dance in view; at another, they would hear nothing but news, and even gave the Brethren to understand that they had already heard, and known, and believed enough about spiritual things, having been instructed by persons more capable of teaching them than they. If the missionaries tarried with them more than one

<sup>g</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 361.



night, they employed every species of art to entice them to their wanton dissolute practices; and when they failed in this, they endeavoured to weary and provoke them by mocking and mimicking their reading, singing, and praying, or by accompanying these sacred exercises with their hideous howling, or the beat of their drums. They took occasion, from their external poverty, to ridicule them with the keenest sarcasms; and if the Brethren replied, that they did not come to Greenland for the sake of outward advantages, as good eating and drinking, but to teach them the will of God and the way to heaven, they taunted them, saying, "Fine fellows, indeed, to be our teachers! We know very well, ye yourselves are ignorant, and must learn your lesson from others," referring probably to their being taught the language by the Danish missionaries. All this rudeness the Brethren bore with patience, meekness, and serenity: but the savages, instead of being softened by their gentle behaviour, were only encouraged to abuse them the more. They pelted them with stones, climbed on their shoulders, seized their goods, and shattered them to pieces; nay, they were so cruel as to attempt to spoil their boat or to drive it out to sea, which would have deprived them of their principal means of subsistence. It even appears that they formed some design against the life of the Brethren. One night, the missionaries heard a noise on the outside of their tent, and perceived that some person was trying to draw aside the curtains which were fastened with a couple of pins. Having gone out to see what was the matter, they were astonished to behold a number of Greenlanders surrounding the tent, some of them with



naked knives in their hands, nor could they drive them away till they threatened them with their fire-arms. At that time, the Brethren supposed that the savages designed merely to cut their tent skins in pieces; but, some years after, they learned, that they had resolved to take their life, hoping that the other Europeans in the country would not think it worth their while to revenge the death of such poor despised people. It even appeared that they were instigated to this horrid deed by some malicious persons in the colony, and therefore the Brethren presented a remonstrance to the Danish factor and the missionaries, informing them of this fact, that so none of their servants might in future be allowed to act a part so contrary to every principle of religion, justice, and humanity.<sup>n</sup>

Hitherto, the Brethren had seen no fruit of their labours in Greenland. The savages who came from a distance were stupid, ignorant, and thoughtless. The little they could learn in a short visit, even if it made some slight impression at the time, was soon forgotten by them in the midst of their constant wanderings from place to place. On the other hand, those who resided in the neighbourhood, and had been under instruction for many years, instead of becoming better, appeared to grow worse. As long as they were told any kind of news, they listened to them with pleasure; they would even bear to hear some little histories out of the Bible, particularly the miracles of our Lord and his Apostles. But if the Brethren began to speak to them of the nature and attributes of God, of the fall and

<sup>n</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 367.



corruption of man, of the wrath of God against sinners, of the necessity of an atonement, of faith in Jesus Christ, of the sanctification of the heart, of the happiness of heaven, or the misery of hell they quickly became sleepy, said, Yes to all, and slunk away. At other times, they avowed their aversion to such discourse, and began to talk of their seal catching, or they excused themselves, saying, They could not understand it. “Shew us the God you describe,” said they, “then will we believe in him, and serve him. You represent him as so great, that we cannot come near him, neither will he trouble himself about us. We have prayed to him when we were sick or had nothing to eat, but he heard us not. What you say of him, therefore, we think is not true; or if you know him better than we, then do ye, by your prayers, obtain for us plenty of food, health of body, and a dry house, for these are all the things we either desire or want. We have healthy souls already; we need nothing but a sound body and plenty to eat. You are a different kind of people from us. In your country, perhaps, persons may have diseased souls: we have proofs of this, indeed, in those who come hither; they are good for nothing; they may therefore stand in need of a Saviour and a Physician for the soul. Your heaven and your spiritual pleasures may be good enough for you; but they would be tiresome to us. We must have seals, and birds, and fishes; these we shall not find in your heaven; and, therefore, we will leave it to you and the worthless part of the Greenlanders: as for us, we will go down to Torngarsuk; there we shall find abundance of every thing without either toil or trouble.”



In this manner did the savages evade or even ridicule the most important and interesting truths of revelation. Indeed, when they were in a humour for it, there was nothing so sacred, but they would employ their wit upon it.<sup>i</sup>

In June 1737, many of the Greenlanders fled for protection to the Europeans, in consequence of a report that the Southlanders intended to come and murder those who lived in this part of the country. But no sooner was the danger over than they went away again, and the Brethren were obliged to search after them among the islands in their old leaky boat, which was now so rotten, that they almost shuddered to enter it. In one of these voyages, they were driven, by contrary winds, to the southern islands, where they met with many of the Greenlanders, and among others their old friend Ippegau, who, two years before, had preserved their life. These people received them in a friendly manner; and though in two or three days they gave them to understand, that they wished them to return home, yet they were prevailed on to allow one of the missionaries to reside a short time with them, for the purpose of improving himself in the language. Matthew Stach, accordingly, remained with them about a month, during which period their behaviour was very variable, as is commonly the case with savages. Sometimes they were cross, and sometimes they were kind to him. They allowed him, at first, to speak freely with them, and occasionally to read to them some passages out of the New Testament; but they soon grew weary of these exercises, and

<sup>i</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 376.



refused to hear him any more. Indeed, what he told them of divine things only furnished them with matter for idle talk and laughter. On the other hand, they extolled their sorcerers as beings who could vanish from the sight, glide along an invisible rope to the heavens above, or to the abyss beneath, and compel the infernal powers to unchain the captive seals. When he shewed them the absurdity of such romantic tales, they frowned on him in anger, bade him hold his peace, and go away. The children, however, all loved our missionary, and used to run after him with great fondness, owing, no doubt, to his kind and affable behaviour towards them. Sometimes he collected them together, spoke with them a little, and asked them a few questions. On these occasions, they listened with apparent pleasure; but it was extremely difficult to keep them in an attentive mood, for no sooner did they see or hear any thing that attracted their fancy, than they ran away after it, and what they had learned was of course soon forgotten.<sup>k</sup>

Five years had now elapsed since the Brethren landed in Greenland; yet hitherto they had toiled and laboured in vain, but now they began, at last, to witness the fruit of their unwearied exertions.

In June 1738, a number of Southlanders happening to visit them, at a time when one of the Brethren was writing out a fair copy of a translation of some part of the Gospels, they were curious to know what the book contained, and he was no less willing to gratify their wishes. After reading a portion of it to them, he told them of the creation

<sup>k</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 378.



of the world, of the fall of man, of our misery in consequence of sin, and of our redemption through Jesus Christ. In speaking on the latter subject, he was enabled to describe the sufferings and death of the Redeemer with more than ordinary force and energy; and he, at the same time, read to them from the New Testament, the history of his agony in the garden. Upon this, one of the savages, named Kaiarnak, stepped up to the table, and in an earnest affecting manner exclaimed, "How was that? Tell me it once more; for I also would fain be saved!" These words, the like of which the missionary had never heard from the lips of a Greenlander, penetrated his whole soul, so that the tears rolled down his cheeks while he gave them a general view of the life and death of Christ, and of the plan of salvation through him. Meanwhile, the other brethren came home from their labours, and began to speak to them still further concerning the way of salvation. Some of the savages laid their hands on their mouth, as is their usual practice when they are struck with wonder and amazement. Several, indeed, who had no relish for these things, slipped away secretly; but others of them requested they might be taught to pray; and when the missionaries did pray with them, they frequently repeated their expressions, in order that they might not forget them. In short, there appeared such a serious concern among them as the Brethren had never beheld before among the Greenlanders. At taking leave, the savages promised soon to call again, and hear of these things; and they further engaged to speak to their countrymen concerning them.

From that period, Kaiarnak made frequent visits



to the missionaries, and at length he took up his residence with them. "When we speak to him," they say, "he is often so affected, that the tears roll down his cheeks. He is, indeed, a very singular man. We cannot but wonder at him when we consider, that the Greenlanders, in general, are so extremely stupid, that they can comprehend almost nothing except those things with which they are daily conversant. But this man scarcely hears a thing twice before he understands it, and retains it in his memory. He at the same time, shews an uncommon attachment to us, and a constant desire for further instruction, so that he seems to drink in every word which drops from our lips, a thing we never before observed in any Greenlander." Besides Kaiarnak, there were about twenty others of the savages who this winter took up their residence in the neighbourhood of the missionaries.<sup>1</sup>

In March 1739, the Brethren had the pleasure of baptizing Kaiarnak and his family, who, after a trial of some months, afforded satisfactory evidence of a work of grace in their hearts, by the fruits that appeared in their life. This prospect, however, so bright and fair, threatened soon to set in darkness. Scarcely had a month elapsed, when a band of murderers killed his brother-in-law, who also lived with the missionaries, under the pretence that he had conjured the ringleader's son to death; and as they likewise threatened to murder Kaiarnak and his other brother-in-law, he resolved to fly with his family to the south. Against this proposal the Brethren remonstrated in the strongest manner. They

<sup>1</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 385.



expressed their fears that so young a convert, and especially his two children, would adopt the manners of the Heathen, should they again live among the savages; they reminded him of the solemn promises he had lately made at baptism; they offered to maintain both him and his family, that they might have no occasion to go abroad as long as the murderers remained in the neighbourhood. By these representations, he was touched to the heart: He mingled his tears with those of the missionaries; but yet he could not resolve to stay. Before he left them, they once more exhorted him to faithfulness and good conduct among the Heathen, and recommended him in prayer to the protection of the Shepherd of Israel. In the course of two weeks, they beheld, with sorrow, the country stripped of most of their Greenlanders, and were forced to bear this new reproach, that though they could baptize Heathens, they could not make them Christians, nor even wean them from their roving habits.<sup>m</sup>

In the year 1740, a remarkable change took place in the Brethren's method of instructing the Greenlanders, and it was attended with such singular effects, as to merit particular notice. Hitherto, they had been accustomed, in the first instance, to direct the attention of the Pagans to such truths as were of a preliminary nature, as the existence of God, the creation of the world, the fall of man; a mode of instruction, which appears *a priori*, not merely the most rational, but the only plan they could have pursued with the smallest prospect of success. It is worthy of observation, however, that

<sup>m</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 400.



reduced to practice, it had proved not only almost entirely ineffectual, but even seemed a bar to the conversion of the Heathen. They now adopted a different method, and directed the attention of the savages, in the first instance, to Christ Jesus, to his incarnation, his life, and especially to his sufferings and death. In discoursing of these things, the Brethren themselves were often so much impressed, that they spoke in a manner entirely new; the subject so warmed and animated their own hearts, that the words flowed from their lips with wonderful fervour and affection; they were even astonished at each other's powers of utterance. Happily, this was attended with correspondent effects on the Greenlanders. It illuminated their darkened understanding, melted their stubborn hearts, and kindled in their cold icy breasts the flame of spiritual life. This, therefore, may be considered as a new era in the history of the Greenland mission.<sup>n \*</sup>

<sup>n</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 2, 27, 424.

\* This observation certainly deserves the particular attention of Christian missionaries. It was the result of the experience of the United Brethren, not only in Greenland, but in most other places where they have established missions, as well as of other missionaries, in different parts of the world. We are very far from supposing that a missionary should confine his instructions to this subject; but yet, as the death of Christ is the foundation of the Christian system, we certainly think it should hold a prominent place in his discourses to the Heathen. This observation of the United Brethren accords, in a remarkable manner, with the conduct of the Apostle Paul, and places in a new and more forcible light, some of the declarations of that illustrious man: "The Jews," says he, "require a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom, but we preach CHRIST CRUCIFIED, unto the Jews a stumblingblock, and to the Greeks foolishness."—"When I came to you, I came not with excellency



Of late, indeed, the missionaries had beheld some little fruit of their labours. The conversion of Kaiarnak and his family, they would have considered as a rich reward for all their toils, had not his sudden flight dashed their hopes, and pierced them with new sorrows. Of his return, they entertained little or no expectation. How exquisite then was their joy, when, after about a year's absence, he suddenly stepped in among them, while they were celebrating the marriage dinner of Frederick Boehnish, and Anna Stach! He not only returned safe, without having sustained any material injury in his spiritual interests, but he brought with him his brother and his family, to gain whom, it appears, was one principal object of his expedition. Of late, he said, he had longed exceedingly to return to the Brethren; and now, he should never leave them more, for even during his absence, he had felt how much they loved both him and his children. °

Besides Kaiarnak's family, there were several others of the Greenlanders who now manifested a serious concern for their souls; but no sooner did

° Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 2, 6.  
of speech, or of wisdom. For I determined not to know ANY thing among you, save JESUS CHRIST, and him CRUCIFIED."—"God forbid that I should glory, save in the CROSS of our Lord Jesus Christ." It is probable the Apostle Paul made the death of Christ the principal subject of his preaching, not only on account of the important place which it held in the Christian system, but because it was the grand mean of the conversion of the Gentiles. We do think, however, that the Brethren in Greenland and in other parts of the world, direct the attention of the Heathen too exclusively to this topic; and that in consequence of this, the views of those under their care must often be extremely limited.



this appear, than they were exposed to the contempt and ridicule of their neighbours. Their exhortations and example, however, produced very salutary effects on many of their countrymen. The missionaries sometimes took them with them in their visits to the Heathen, in order to exhibit them as living monuments of the power and pleasure of religion. By this means they were furnished with an answer to an observation which the Heathen often made as an apology for their neglect of the gospel: "You," said they, "are a different kind of people from us: It is your profession: You have both time and ability to think of these things." But now they beheld examples of their own countrymen, who originally were no better than themselves, and yet had embraced the gospel, were transformed by its sacred influence, and exhibited its happy effects in their life. The testimony which the converts bore on these occasions to the love and grace of the Redeemer, was often so fervent and striking, that numbers of the savages were filled with amazement, and deeply impressed with a sense of their need of salvation. They were particularly astonished at the prayers of the converts. In token of their wonder, they used to lay their hand on their mouth; and imagining that the converts had merely committed them to memory, they were eager to learn them also: but they were told, they must first feel their misery, and then a sense of distress would teach them how to express themselves in prayer.<sup>p</sup>

The Brethren, indeed, now derived the most essential service from the young converts. Having

<sup>p</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 6, 9, 29.



begun to translate a Harmony of the Gospels into the Greenland language, they were much assisted by them in this important work. The missionaries often remarked, that the converts used expressions, especially in prayer, which it would have been impossible for them ever to have discovered from their intercourse with the other Greenlanders, or by any rules of grammar. They therefore took particular notice of such phrases, and learned to speak from the young converts after the latter had learned to think from them. They now saw the propriety of the resolution they had early taken, not to converse with the Greenlanders on the subject of religion while they were imperfectly acquainted with their language, for such equivocal expressions were even still pointed out to them by an upright mind, as the crafty savages might have taken occasion to pervert to the worst of purposes.<sup>a</sup>

But though the Christian Greenlanders afforded the Brethren much satisfaction, they were by no means without their imperfections. Several of them, for instance, began to betray a spirit of pride, arrogance, and self-conceit. No sooner had they obtained some knowledge of the gospel, and were able to speak of it to others, than they set themselves up for teachers, and entertained very high ideas of their own acquirements. The missionaries now found, that one of the chief lessons they would have to inculcate on them was humility; and that, on calling them forth to recommend the grace of the Redeemer to their countrymen, they should earnestly exhort them to rejoice not so much in the

<sup>a</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 399; vol. ii. p. 11.



success of their labours, as “because their own names were written in heaven.”<sup>r</sup>

In October 1742, the number of Greenlanders who took up their winter quarters in the neighbourhood of the Brethren amounted to thirty. These they endeavoured to reduce into some kind of order, with regard both to their temporal and their spiritual concerns. At the catechetical exercises, and the other meetings, they regularly read to them the Harmony of the Gospels, which was now finished; they also taught them some hymns, which the poor creatures learned with great eagerness, and which seemed to afford them peculiar pleasure, for they sung them perpetually, both at home and abroad. In their meetings, such powerful impressions were often made, both on the speaker and the hearers, that they mingled their tears together, and were scarcely able to proceed with the exercise. The missionaries also now began to form them into little classes, in which four or five individuals of the same sex, conversed freely with each other concerning the state of their hearts, and their progress in the knowledge of religion.<sup>s</sup>

The prospects of the missionaries now became brighter than ever: the effects of the gospel were so amazing, that it seemed as if a general awakening of the Greenlanders was about to take place in that part of the country. Most of them, indeed, had not resolution enough to forsake their usual places of hunting and fishing, and to fix their residence with the Brethren for the purpose of enjoying regular instruction. But though, in consequence of this,

<sup>r</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 29. <sup>s</sup> Ibid. vol. ii. p. 31.



many of them for a season, lost their serious impressions, and some wandered to distant parts of the country, yet most of them afterwards returned, became concerned about their souls, and were admitted as members of the congregation; or they prosecuted their inquiries after divine truth at the Danish colonies, and were there received into the bosom of the Christian church. From this period, the whole Greenland nation displayed a new and improved temper toward foreigners, whom at first they had so hated, dreaded, or despised. Many who formerly derided and maltreated the Brethren, now came and begged their pardon; and even those who once were the most untractable, stood along the shore as the missionaries sailed by, entreated them to land, and tell them the words of God.<sup>c</sup>

As it was impossible for the Brethren to make so frequent or so extensive visits among the Heathen as the urgency of the call demanded, they were obliged, in many cases, to rest satisfied with the simple testimony of the young converts, when they went abroad in search of provisions. But though the scattering of their little flock in summer ultimately promoted the extension of the gospel, the missionaries often felt the most painful emotions, and the most anxious solicitude, at the prospect of their departure, lest any evil should befall them, from the numerous snares and temptations to which they would be exposed. On one of these occasions, they sent for all the baptized, both men and women, and spoke with them separately,

<sup>c</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 34, 38.



before parting with them. They were like Jacob when he dismissed Benjamin, his beloved son. They entreated them with tears in their eyes, not to forget the Lord Jesus, who was crucified for them, and to watch over their own hearts, while surrounded with temptations from the Heathen. They then blessed them and kissed them, and went down with them to the strand. There they once more addressed them, from these words of the apostle: "And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified." The Greenlanders then set off in their boats, and the missionaries, in the meanwhile, sung a hymn on the shore. In the course of the summer, some of the converts frequently returned, and informed them of whatever circumstances occurred among them. In those cases, where several of them met together in the same place, it was pleasing to witness the brotherly love they manifested toward each other; even the Heathen bore testimony to their exemplary behaviour. There were, however, some instances of misconduct among them; and therefore, on their return, the Brethren spoke with them, one by one, in order to remove every kind of misunderstanding between them, before restoring them to their separate meetings, and the kiss of charity as a token of their closer fellowship. On this occasion, most of them displayed remarkable ingenuousness, acknowledging their faults with readiness, and begging each other's pardon with tears. <sup>u</sup>

<sup>u</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 38, 45.



In 1746, this general awakening, after it had lasted about three years, began to subside among the Greenlanders. Many of those who had heard the gospel and been impressed by it, were still undetermined, and endeavoured to get rid of their convictions, and even to deter others by force or fraud from joining the congregation. The angekoks, in particular, afraid of losing their reputation, and the profits of their impostures, laboured to terrify the poor people by the strangest inventions, and the most ridiculous tales. One of these deceivers, brought heavy charges against the Christians, maintaining, that their new doctrine and way of life frightened away the sea fowl, after he, by his art, had released them from the subterranean regions. Another of the conjurors warned the people not to listen to the believers, as he had performed a journey to heaven with the view of ascertaining how it went with the souls of the deceased Greenlanders, and that he there found all the baptized in a most deplorable condition, without food and raiment; while those who had not received the gospel were blessed with affluence and plenty. A frightful report was circulated about a Christian Greenlander, who had died at the northern colony and appeared again, perfectly naked, saying, he had been thrust into a dark dismal hole, where he endured the most exquisite misery. Such of the savages as sought an apology for neglecting the gospel, readily credited these foolish stories, alleging that the Europeans inflicted these punishments upon them, because the Greenlanders had murdered their ancestors; and though such as were now in the country did no harm to their bodies, yet they endeavoured to ruin



their souls hereafter. Most of them, however, paid little regard to these idle fictions, and as soon as the first impressions of them were effaced, they came in great numbers to visit the Brethren, and to hear the word, especially if they understood that any of the converts were to be baptized. v

Meanwhile the little flock of Christian Greenlanders increased both in numbers and in grace. Many painful circumstances, indeed, occasionally occurred among them; but nothing else could be expected in a congregation collected from among savage Heathens, since the church of Christ on earth, even in its best state, is only an hospital of sick people, who have begun to recover, but have yet the seeds of disease in their constitution, and are still liable to partial relapses. Their intercourse with their Heathen countrymen was attended with no small danger to their spiritual interests; yet it could not be altogether avoided, as they were obliged to be often from home in search of provisions. The more, indeed, they experienced the advantages of daily instruction, and the many inconveniences attending their being scattered abroad, the more they endeavoured to live together under the inspection of their teachers, and the more cordially did they submit to the external rules of the congregation, which they saw aimed at their spiritual prosperity, not at their temporal subjection. When, therefore, they were under the necessity of going to the fishing among the islands, they went almost all to one place, that they might hold their meetings together; and as soon as they procured an adequate

v Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 78.



supply of their wants, they hastened back to their teachers. They were now more and more sensible of the love of the missionaries towards them, since, notwithstanding their own accumulated manual labour, one or other of them always devoted his time to their service, either going to sea with them, or frequently visiting them; and when none of them could be with them, the converts followed the advice of the helpers and class-keepers, who informed the Brethren from time to time of whatever occurred among them. On the whole, the missionaries had abundant cause to rejoice over them as their spiritual children whom they had begotten in Christ Jesus, and to stand amazed at their growth in knowledge and in grace, especially considering that they were so lately not only Pagans, but the most brutish and degraded of savages.<sup>w</sup>

Hitherto the missionaries had been afraid to admit any of the Greenland converts to the Lord's supper, lest they should afterwards apostatize and disgrace their Christian profession; but they now resolved to admit three of them to that holy ordinance. On being informed of this, and having the nature of the institution explained to them, the candidates were filled with the liveliest joy, mingled with emotions of shame. When they afterwards partook of the ordinance, a solemn awe overpowered their hearts, and a flood of tears rolled down their cheeks: "It was," they said, "as if their body had sunk into the dust, and their spirit taken its flight to heaven. All their thoughts centred in this, Oh! how is it possible our Saviour should so dearly

<sup>w</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 69, 80, 93, 95.



love poor sinful men." Such were the pleasing effects of the first Greenland communion. \*

In the course of their labours among the Greenlanders, the Brethren had often to encounter no small hardships and dangers; but yet, in the midst of all, the Lord appeared as their deliverer. Once, when two of them had sailed to the distance of about six leagues, in search of wood, they were obliged to remain no less than eight days on an uninhabited island, exposed to all the violence of three dreadful storms, without either a house or a tent to shelter them. During the last four or five days, they had nothing to eat but shell fish, and even of these they could scarcely procure enough to satisfy the cravings of hunger. At length, they ventured to return homewards; but scarcely had they set foot on shore, when there arose such a terrible storm, that it was with difficulty they secured and sheltered their boat. About the same time, John Beck and two new assistants from Europe were in imminent danger of their lives, on arriving on the shores of Greenland. After reaching the latitude of Good Hope, they durst not approach the land, on account of the violence of the storms; but were obliged to proceed about eighty leagues to the north, before they could venture to leave the ship. Even then the captain advised them to wait another opportunity, as he was afraid they might be murdered by the savages who inhabited that part of the country, and who had an exceedingly bad character. They resolved, however, to make the attempt. The day was calm and serene when they

\* Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 94, 102.



set off in their boat; but in the evening, as they were attempting to cross a broad inlet, the wind arose all of a sudden, and threatened to drive them into the wide ocean. After long and severe rowing, they, at length, reached a lonely uninhabited island. Here they were obliged to remain without either house or tent, for two days and three nights; and to aggravate their distress, they had, in lightening the boat during the storm, thrown into the sea, among other articles, their implements for striking fire, so that they now suffered very severely, both from wet and cold. They had, however, a small quantity of bread and cheese, as also some bottles of wine, but these had frozen and burst, owing to the severity of the cold. At night, they lay in a hole dug in the snow, and covered themselves with the sail of their boat. On leaving this place, on the third day, they came to the first Greenland house in Omenak, and were received by the inhabitants in a friendly manner; but as that quarter of the country was notorious for the murder of several navigators, they kept a strict watch during the whole of the night. After sailing in their boat for six days longer, in the course of which they suffered a variety of other hardships and dangers, they, at length, arrived in safety at New Herrnhuth, as the missionary settlement was now called. <sup>y</sup>

In 1750, when the Greenlanders who resided with the Brethren, removed from their tents into their winter houses, they amounted to upwards of three hundred. In that part of the country, it was formerly deemed impossible for two families to find

<sup>y</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 90.



subsistence; yet this great number of persons not only subsisted, but were able to afford relief to those who were in need, though there had been such famines in other places, almost every year, that even where provisions used to be most plentiful, many had died of want. Some of the savages from Kangek had lately buried an old man alive, and when they were called to an account for their conduct, they pleaded, in excuse, that it was done at his daughter's request, because he had an ulcerated hand, and could do nothing for his own support! The Christian Greenlanders had never been reduced to such extremity, for they had learned to work, as well as to pray, and even to be good economists. They now, indeed, enjoyed great advantages for the preservation of their provisions, in consequence of their connexion with the missionaries. Formerly they used to conceal their dried meat, fish, capelins, and other articles under heaps of stones, where they were often half-devoured by the foxes and ravens, or reduced to a state of putrefaction; but now they had a large storehouse in which they could lay them up in safety. <sup>z</sup>

In the beginning of 1752, there was one of the most dreadful winters in Greenland that ever was known; and in this, as well as several of the following years, the inhabitants suffered all the horrors of famine, in consequence of the extreme severity of the weather. From February to Easter, the cold was perfectly horrible. The inlets were so frozen and blocked up with ice, that frequently not a kajak could stir in the water. The weather

<sup>z</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 124, 129, 133, 138.



was so unsettled and so tempestuous, that the people could seldom go abroad, and when they made the attempt, it was not only at the risk of their life, but was attended with little or no advantage, as they rarely caught even a single bird. Imminent, however, as was the danger, only one of the congregation was lost. He was carried away in a violent tempest, by the impetuosity of the waves, and was not found until three months after, when he was discovered in his kajak, half-devoured by the ravens and foxes. One day, the storm was so awfully tremendous, that nothing like it was remembered by any of the Greenlanders. The new and largest boat of the missionaries, though it was drawn up on the shore, and tied to a post, was shattered by the waves. A few days after, there was such a dreadful hurricane, attended with lightning, that their dwelling-house and chapel were nearly thrown down; they tottered and cracked like a ship in a storm. By these means, the poor Greenlanders were reduced to the utmost extremity, being in danger of perishing either by cold or hunger. The Brethren constantly allowed one company after another to come into their rooms to warm themselves. They also distributed dried capelins among such of the families as were poor; and when these were exhausted, they supplied them with pease. They at the same time, exhorted the more wealthy Greenlanders not to shut up their bowels of compassion against their indigent brethren; but to impart provisions to them as long as they had any remaining, without taking thought for the morrow. This had so good an effect, that, among the communicants at least, it needed no repetition. Some



at last made their way to the islands; but most of them soon came back, as they were able to do less there than even at home, owing to the storminess of the weather. The return of the others was prevented, partly by the intense cold, which soon after ensued, and froze the sea as far as the eye could reach, partly by a tempest which shattered most of their boats to pieces.<sup>a</sup>

Aggravated, however, as were the sufferings of the Christian Greenlanders at New Herrnhuth, the miseries of the savages, in other parts of the country, were inexpressibly more terrible. One season when Mr. Dalager, the factor of the colony, went to a place about twenty leagues to the south, on the blubber trade, he returned with nothing but the melancholy tidings of people perishing of hunger. Along with him he brought a little girl whom the savages, for want of food, had twice laid in a distant cave, that, like Hagar of old, they might not see her die; but on finding her alive two days after, they cast her naked into the sea. One of them, however, touched with compassion, flew to her assistance, and snatched her from a watery grave: but though he saved her life, he was not able to sustain it, for he had nothing to give her to eat. Mr. Dalager happened to come to this place immediately after, and, on hearing her melancholy story, he ordered the poor creature to be brought to him. She was now spent to a skeleton, through cold and hunger; yet the spark of life was not quite extinguished. Pitying her wretched condition, he clothed and fed her with his own hands; and

<sup>a</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 157.



afterwards sent her to the Brethren, with an offer to assist any poor widow who would undertake the charge of her. <sup>b</sup>

But dreadful as was the famine this season, instead of being alleviated, it appears to have been aggravated the following year. The islands were so enclosed with ice, it was impossible for the savages to go in quest of food; and such a dreadful scarcity ensued, as no European, in the country, had ever witnessed. Frequent accounts were received of children perishing of hunger, in one part of the country, and of old helpless people being buried alive in another. In a visit which two of the missionaries paid to Kangek, they found, in one place, fifteen persons nearly starved to death. They were lying in a house so small and so low, that it was impossible to stand upright in it; and the only way of entering it, was by creeping in on the belly. They had no fire, but lay one upon another, in all directions, in order to keep themselves warm. Neither had they a morsel to eat: such, indeed, was their extreme weakness, that when the missionaries entered, they did not care to raise themselves, or even to speak to them. At length, a man brought a couple of fishes from the sea. A girl seized one of them, raw as it was, tore it in pieces with her teeth, and gorged it down with the utmost voracity. She looked as pale as death. Four of the children of these poor creatures, indeed, had already died of hunger. The Brethren distributed among them, a part of their own little pittance, and advised them to remove to New Herrnhuth.

<sup>b</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 249.



They accordingly, came thither soon after; but, at first, it was scarcely possible to satisfy their hunger. Their appetite was so keen, that they went to the very dust heaps, in search of fish bones, already sufficiently chewed, and even of pieces of old shoes. To these and many others of their destitute countrymen, the Christian Greenlanders communicated supplies with the utmost cheerfulness, though they had often to make a hard enough shift for themselves. <sup>c</sup>

But though numbers of the savages were driven to New Herrnhuth, by the severity of the famine, yet neither the afflictions of life, nor the kindness of the Brethren, made any serious impression on their minds. The aversion which they had to their Christian countrymen was so rooted, that it was with extreme reluctance, that even the half-starving people now mentioned resolved to apply to them for assistance: And though they came and obtained relief, yet not one of them remained, not even such as had relations in the place, who spared no pains to induce them to stay. The same was the case with others of the savages. No sooner was their hunger satisfied, than they hastened away as from a place infected by the plague. It was evident the judgment of many of them was convinced of the excellence of Christianity, but yet their heart was opposed to the purity of its precepts. They admired the fine order of the converts; they could not but acknowledge that they led a happier life, and suffered less from external want than other Greenlanders, yet such was their dislike of religion, that

<sup>c</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 258, 260.



they would not stay among them, and many of them even ran away as soon as the name of the Saviour was mentioned.<sup>a</sup>

Famine, however, was not the only calamity which now visited this ill-fated country. In 1754, several Dutch ships having run into Ball's river to avoid the ice, numbers of the Greenlanders went on board, and were treated with foreign victuals, particularly pease, which they ate to the greater excess, as hunger had for some months past whetted their appetites. It was at length discovered, though too late, that a contagious distemper prevailed in, at least, one of these vessels; and it was not long before it broke out, first among the Heathen, and then among the Christian Greenlanders, and carried off vast numbers of them, for at least fourteen leagues round the colony. During the time that it raged, which was about three months, scarcely a day passed at New Herrnhuth without either a death or a funeral; and, in one instance, four corpses were laid in the grave on the same day, namely, two brothers, their nephew, and a child. Some also died in other places, who could not be brought thither for burial, as at least one half of the people were sick. The case of these was the more deplorable, not only as they were in great want of the necessaries of life, but were also at such a distance, and so dispersed among the islands, that it was impossible they could be duly attended to, especially as the weather was extremely stormy. Had suitable remedies been early administered to them, it is probable many of them might have

<sup>a</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 263.



recovered. The whole number of Christian Greenlanders who died this year was fifty-seven, and of these thirty-five were supposed to have been carried off by this contagious disorder. Many of them, on their deathbed, exhibited pleasing proofs of the power of religion on their hearts. No people on earth, perhaps, have such a horror at death as the Greenlanders; yet many of the Christian converts not only exercised patience and resignation to the will of God under their affliction, but were full of peace, tranquillity, and joy.<sup>e</sup>

As among the Greenlanders who died, there were some of the principal heads of families, the number of widows and orphans, which was large before, was by this means greatly augmented. On the return of the congregation to their winter quarters, it was therefore necessary to make arrangements for the support of such as were left destitute. In those cases where there was a son who was able to maintain his mother and the rest of the family, this duty was of course assigned to him. Such children as were only rising to manhood, were distributed in other families, with the view of being trained up to the usual occupations of the country. Those who were not yet able to engage in manual employments were left with their mothers; or if they were bereaved of them also, they were placed under the care of some of the Greenland Sisters; and if they were only infants at the breast, such of the women as were then nursing, were obliged to suckle them by turns. In these arrangements, most of the Greenlanders acted in a manner highly becoming

<sup>e</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 215, 217, 219, 221, 223.



their Christian profession ; and some who were not rich, put to shame others who were more wealthy. It may easily, however, be conceived, that the missionaries must have had no small difficulty, in making such arrangements as were satisfactory to all parties. They at the same time, took their own share of the burden, being at the expense of clothing some of the poor children, and of furnishing many of the boys with boats and other utensils, that they might learn to provide for themselves and their relations ; for they were determined to afford no encouragement to indolence or idleness, but chose rather to spend a little upon them in early life, to enable them to work with their own hands, than by neglecting them in their youth, to allow them to remain a burden on the community. It is not unworthy of observation, that the women nursing the poor motherless infants, was an interesting proof of the power of religion on their hearts. There is nothing, perhaps, to which the Greenland females have so rooted an aversion, as suckling the children of another, lest their own child should have a rival in their affections. Hence, among the savages, when a woman dies, and leaves an infant behind her, the unfortunate father has no other resource, but to bury it alive immediately, that so he may not behold his little babe lingering to death before his eyes. In such cases, a Greenland woman has no feeling of compassion ; yet the Gospel, by its transforming influence, overcame this barbarous prejudice. <sup>f</sup>

Of the power of Christianity, in expanding the

<sup>f</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 226.



heart, and exciting the principle of benevolence in the breast even of the most fierce and lawless savages, we may here notice another striking example. It was customary with the Brethren at some of their meetings, to read to their Greenland flock, the accounts which they received from their congregations in Europe, and particularly from the missions among the Heathen. By these a very lively impression was often produced on the converts; but nothing of this kind ever touched them so sensibly, as the account of the destruction of the Indian settlement at Gnadenhuetten, in Pennsylvania, by some of the savages in the interest of France.\* When they were told, that most of the missionaries were either shot or burnt to death; but that the Indians had escaped to the settlement of the Brethren at Bethlehem, they were so impressed with the relation, that they burst into tears, and immediately offered to make a contribution for the relief of the unfortunate sufferers. “I,” said one, “have a fine rein-deer skin, which I will give.”—“I,” cried a second, “have a new pair of rein-deer boots, which I will send them.”—“And I,” said a third, “will send them a seal, that they may have something to eat and to burn.” The whole scene was extremely interesting, affording a fine display of the simplicity and benevolence of their hearts. Their contributions, indeed, when turned into money, were of little value; yet the missionaries did not choose to reject them, but ordered the amount of the whole to be transmitted by their Brethren in Europe to the sufferers in America. ‡

\* See Section III.

‡ Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 266.



New Herrnhuth had now become a pleasant little village. The country originally consisted entirely of bald rocks, thinly interspersed with spots and veins of earth, or rather sand. But the missionary house and chapel, the area, and the garden, were laid out in neat and regular order; and all the adjacent land, where once not a blade of grass grew, was now enrobed with the richest and most beautiful verdure, so that the settlement might justly be considered as a garden of the Lord, in the midst of a horrible wilderness. The Brethren even introduced sheep into Greenland, and the attempt succeeded beyond their most sanguine expectation. The grass was so nutritious, that the ewes brought forth two, and even three lambs a year; and though there were so many lambs from the same mother, yet they were larger in autumn, than sheep of a year old in Germany. This little flock of sheep was of great use to the missionaries, especially as the number of rein-deer was daily decreasing.<sup>n</sup>

As the Brethren had now collected a numerous congregation at New Herrnhuth, they were anxious to establish another settlement in a part of the country more convenient for the Southlanders, many of whom had often invited them to come and reside among them. Besides other difficulties, however, there were not missionaries enough to carry such a design into execution. Matthew Stach, one of the original founders of the mission, had lately returned to Europe, and was now thinking of taking some rest in fellowship with the congregation at home, after the many toils he had endured abroad. Such,

<sup>n</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 74; vol. ii. p. 162, 399.



however, was his attachment to the Greenlanders, that he never could speak, or hear of them, without earnestly wishing to return among them. When, therefore, it was proposed to him to undertake the establishment of a second settlement, he cheerfully agreed to make the attempt, notwithstanding the new toils and dangers to which it would necessarily expose him.

In May 1758, Matthew Stach sailed from Europe, accompanied by two other of the Brethren as his assistants. In the course of the voyage, they did not meet with a single storm, and what was still more extraordinary, they were treated with kindness and civility by the ship's company. In this respect there had been a remarkable change, for some years past, especially after the trade to Greenland was consigned by his Majesty to the Incorporated Company of Merchants, and the Brethren, instead of having the liberty of transporting themselves and their provisions free of expense, were ordered to pay a moderate freight, a circumstance which proved both for their interest and their comfort. Formerly, the ship's company used to make it their study to vex and grieve them by their words and actions; they mocked them on account of their religion, and even denied them such external accommodations as were really necessary. But on this occasion, Matthew Stach and his companions were treated not only with civility, but with kindness, by the captain, and the whole of the crew. After visiting New Herrnhuth, they proceeded with four of the Greenland families in search of a suitable situation for a new settlement. Having examined different places, they fixed on a small island near the coast,



about a hundred miles to the south of New Herrnhuth. Here they pitched their tents, and called the name of the settlement Lichtenfels.<sup>i</sup>

In building the houses necessary for their accommodation, the new settlers had to encounter considerable difficulties, owing to the want of suitable materials; but this inconvenience they overcame by their usual patience and perseverance. There was, at the same time, such a scarcity of provisions, that it was with difficulty they maintained themselves. Nor was this merely a temporary calamity. It lasted, in a greater or less degree, for two or three years, and towards the end of that period was little short of famine. The Greenlanders at Lichtenfels, indeed, suffered less than the savages, many of whom died of hunger; but yet they had often to make a miserable shift with a few crow-berries left on the ground during the winter, or some small meagre fishes. The missionaries themselves were often reduced to the greatest straits, and were able to afford but little assistance to the poor Heathen in their neighbourhood.<sup>k</sup>

Besides suffering the evils of scarcity, the missionaries and their companions experienced not a few hardships from the storms which often prevailed both by sea and land. One day, four of the Brethren were entangled, during a tremendous tempest, among the floating ice, and for some time were able to proceed neither one way nor another. After long and severe rowing, they at length made to-

<sup>i</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 131, 273.—Periodical Accounts relating to the Missions of the United Brethren, vol. v. p. 238.

<sup>k</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 279, 309, 356.



wards the shore; but the sea was so high and boisterous, it was impossible to land without danger of being dashed to pieces among the rocks. They only wished that one of them might escape to tell the fate of the others. Providentially, however, such an opening was at length made in the ice by the tide, that they were able to proceed forward, and to land in safety. On another occasion, there was such a tremendous storm, that the Brethren's house trembled as if it had been shaken by an earthquake, though it was very low, and the walls were a yard and a quarter thick. Part of the wall, indeed, was thrown down. In the surrounding country, the roofs of numbers of the Greenland houses were rent; many boats were shattered and carried up into the air, and eight men were lost in the sea. The storm even split and tore open the ice; but the wind immediately after stopped up the holes with snow. On the following day, as one of the Brethren was passing over a pond, the frozen snow gave way under him, and he instantly sunk into the water. As, however, he had a belt round his body, the water under his fur-coat buoyed him up, till he reached the bottom with his long leaping staff; he then threw himself backwards on the firm ice, and in this manner escaped with his life. It is not unworthy of notice, that, both before, and after the storm, balls of fire were seen in the air in several places, and one of them which fell near a house, began to burn. A similar phenomenon was observed about Christmas, near mid-day, while the sun was shining in full splendour.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 308.



In 1760, the Brethren at Lichtenfels, had the pleasure of baptizing a number of the Greenlanders as the first-fruits of the mission at that place. The inhabitants, indeed, increased so rapidly, that the missionaries were anxious to obtain more assistants from Europe; and yet had any come to them at this time, they would not have known how to accommodate them. Their house was not only too small, but was in a very ruinous condition. Part of the wall had twice fallen down; and the hungry ravens had picked so many holes in the seal skins which covered the roof, that the rain dropped freely through it. With regard to the meetings of the congregation, they were still more at a loss. In winter indeed, they could hold them in the large Greenland house; but in summer, when the people dwelt in tents, scarcely the sixth part of them could assemble in one of these, while, at the same time, the weather often would not permit them to meet without doors. Happily, however, the materials for the necessary buildings were sent to them from Europe. Having thus obtained an excellent dwelling-house, and a fine spacious church, the missionaries could hold the various meetings of the congregation, with much more comfort than before; and it was often delightful to witness, on these occasions, the tokens of the Lord's gracious presence with his people.<sup>m</sup>

In July 1763, died Frederick Boehnish, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-ninth of his labours as a missionary in Greenland. Hitherto Providence had in a very singular manner, preserved

<sup>m</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 311, 314, 347, 352.



both the health and the life of the Brethren. It is a remarkable circumstance, that of all the missionaries who had settled in Greenland, not one had died in that country, nor laboured under any very acute disorder, notwithstanding the many toils and hardships, the many storms and dangers, the many other nameless ills they had experienced in the course of their unwearied exertions in that cold inhospitable region. One of the most common diseases to which Europeans are incident in Greenland, is weakness of sight, a disorder which has occasioned the removal of many a useful missionary, and is, no doubt, produced by the perpetual glare of the ice and snow.<sup>n</sup>

In 1768, a remarkable awakening began among the savages in the neighbourhood of New Herrnhuth, and afterwards spread to the settlement of Lichtenfels. For some years past the Brethren had few visitors from among the Heathen: the Southlanders who passed New Herrnhuth in their way to the north, stopped only for a short time; and though on their return they took up their winter quarters in the neighbourhood, yet few of them shewed any inclination to embrace the gospel. Of late, however, there had been a considerable number of strangers in this part of the country, many of whom listened to the instructions of the missionaries with much attention. This favourable disposition of the savages was greatly strengthened by the following incident. An aged Angekok in the

<sup>n</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 413, 474.—Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 351.—Egede (P.) Nachrichten von Gronl. p. 228.



neighbourhood, who had often before heard the gospel, was this winter so terrified by a dream concerning the day of judgment, and the misery of the wicked in hell, that from that day, he renounced his conjurations, and told his countrymen that he and the other Angekoks had hitherto deceived them, and exhorted them to turn with him to God who made heaven and earth. In consequence of this, the savages were roused to more than ordinary attention, and, though many afterwards lost their good impressions, yet there were not a few who appeared cordially to embrace the gospel. In the course of little more than twelve months, about two hundred of the Greenlanders were baptized at New Herrnhuth and Lichtenfels, a greater increase than had ever been known since the commencement of the mission. °

In June 1774, John Soerensen, and Gottfried Grillich, two of the Brethren, sailed from Lichtenfels with the view of establishing a third settlement in the south of Greenland. After a voyage of about six weeks, they arrived at the island of Onartok. Here they discovered a warm spring, at the mouth of which was a beautiful green meadow, adorned with various kinds of flowers, a sight so uncommon in this cold inhospitable country, that it must have proved peculiarly grateful to the eyes of an European; but as it was not convenient for the Greenlanders procuring provisions, the missionaries ever ready to sacrifice their own comfort to the interest of the natives, took up their residence at a

° Cranz Fortsetzung der Historie von Gronland, p. 12, 24, 40, 67, 82, 100, 173, 191, 199.



place a few miles distant. This new settlement they called Lichtenau. It was situated in 60° 34' North Latitude, about 400 miles from Lichtenfels, and within sight of Cape Farewell.<sup>p</sup>

During the first winter of the Brethren's residence in this quarter of the country, near a hundred of the savages took up their abode with them. This part of Greenland appears to have been more than ordinarily populous. Within the circuit of a few miles, it was supposed there were about a thousand inhabitants. Here, therefore, the Brethren had an ample field for labour, and at length, through their unwearied exertions, they reaped an abundant harvest. In the course of a few months they baptized a number of the savages, and after some years, they collected a larger congregation at this place, than in either of their other settlements in Greenland.<sup>q</sup>

In October 1777, the Brethren at Lichtenau had the pleasure of saving the lives of about fifty unfortunate Europeans, under circumstances of a very extraordinary kind. About thirty ships employed in the Whale-fishery off Spitzbergen, were this season locked up by the ice. Fourteen of these having been shattered to pieces, the crews betook themselves to the ice. Many of them died of cold and hunger, some on uninhabited islands where they had taken refuge. Twenty men in two shallops, came the length of Cape Farewell, but were there compelled by hunger to leave their boats, and

<sup>p</sup> Fortsetzung Bruder Historie, tom. i. p. 122.—Edin. Encyclop. vol. x. p. 482.—Period Accounts, vol. v. 238; vol. vi. p. 196.

<sup>q</sup> Fortsetzung Bruder Hist. tom. i. p. 124, 330.



to travel over the ice to the land. These were the first who reached Lichtenau. Others who had come on pieces of floating ice, and had landed in various parts of the country, the missionaries sought out and brought to that place. One of the Christian Greenlanders found no fewer than twelve on a desert island, more like persons dead than living. These unfortunate people the Brethren supplied with food and clothes, and then sent them forward to the Danish colonies, from which there was a greater likelihood of obtaining a passage to Europe. About twenty others came to New Herrnhuth, where the missionaries, as might be expected, supplied their wants in a similar manner.<sup>r</sup>

In 1782, a contagious disorder was introduced into Greenland by a vessel employed in the Whale-fishery, which passed the winter at Good Hope. In the course of a few months it spread over the whole country, and committed terrible havock among the miserable inhabitants. Often there was not a sufficient number of healthy persons to watch the sick, and bury the dead. Whole families were left destitute in consequence of the death of their parents or other providers: the situation of infants at the breast was peculiarly deplorable. About 260 died at New Herrnhuth, near 200 at Lichtenau, and 87 at Lichtenfels, so that at the two former places, we apprehend more than one half of the inhabitants must have perished. Among the Greenlanders who were not connected with the Brethren's congregations, the mortality was still greater, so that the population of the country small as it was before,

<sup>r</sup> Fortsetzung Bruder Hist. tom. i. p. 331.



must have been materially reduced by the ravages of this disorder. <sup>s</sup>

In December 1787, died the venerable Matthew Stach, one of the Brethren who first settled in Greenland. He had left that country about sixteen years before, and after laying the whole state of the mission before those members of the Unity, who were invested with the superintendence of such affairs, he asked permission to retire to North America, a request which was readily granted. He accordingly proceeded thither soon after, and fixed on the Brethren's settlement at Bethabara as the place of his future residence. Being averse, however, to spend his time in a state of inactivity, he offered his services to keep a school for boys. The prosperity of the kingdom of Christ, and the propagation of the gospel in the world, were the subject of his daily prayers; and nothing delighted him so much, as to hear accounts from the several missions among the Heathen. His mental faculties, which had been remarkably vigorous, began, at length, to fail; and he was so injured by a fall about two years before his death, that from that time he was mostly confined to bed. His pains and confinement he bore with exemplary patience and resignation; and it is worthy of remark, that the loss of his memory was in some respects an advantage to him, as he could never be persuaded, but that this accident had happened only the other day. About a week before his death, he grew so extremely weak, that he required constant attendance night and day.

<sup>s</sup> Fortsetzung Bruder Hist. tom. i. p. 326.—MS. Accounts in the Author's possession.



During his illness, he used to give out several hymns, which were particular favourites with him, desiring those who were present to sing for him, and occasionally joining in them himself with great fervency. He spoke with cheerfulness and pleasure of that happy moment, when he should be released from all his sorrows, and see his Saviour face to face. "Lord Jesus, come quickly," were the last words he was heard to utter; after which, he breathed his last, aged seventy-seven years, thirty-eight of which he had spent as a missionary in Greenland.<sup>t</sup>

Many of the Greenlanders had now learned to read, and some of them also to write. As they had no letters of their own, the missionaries introduced the Roman characters among them, as the most plain and easy. The children were in general very eager to learn, and made more rapid progress than might naturally have been expected.<sup>u</sup>

Beside the regular meetings for public worship, on the Sabbath and on festivals, the Brethren, with the view of keeping up a constant sense of religion on the minds of their people, held frequent meetings with them during the week. Every day, at six in the morning, there was a short meeting, called the morning blessing or prayer, at which all the baptized, young and old, attended. At eight o'clock, there was a meeting for all the congregation, in which a text of scripture was explained, though so briefly, that the discourse and the singing seldom lasted above half an hour. There was

<sup>t</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 65.

<sup>u</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 437.



then a meeting for the children, in which they were catechised; and after this they proceeded to school, the boys to a catechist, the girls to a missionary, who was married. In the evening, when the men had returned from their occupations abroad, a meeting was again held with all the congregation, in which one of the missionaries either discoursed on a passage of scripture, or merely sung some hymns, on which account it was called the singing hour. After this meeting, the communicants remained in the hall, and had a short exhortation addressed to them; and when supper was over, the day was concluded with prayer, which was called the evening blessing. <sup>v</sup>

It may also be remarked, that the Greenlanders, particularly the women and children, might often be heard singing hymns, both in their own houses, and when engaged in their avocations abroad. At first, such as had good voices were instructed separately in the art of music; but now there was no occasion for this, as most of them could sing well and had committed to memory the most common hymns, or could learn them from books. As strangers are generally struck with the regular melodious music of the Brethren's congregations in Europe, so Crantz informs us, he was so pleased with the singing of the Greenlanders, that he almost thought they excelled some of their congregations in the civilized parts of the world. The men, indeed, had commonly coarse harsh voices, and therefore exerted them less; but the women, on the other hand, had clear soft voices, and sung so re-

<sup>v</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green, vol. ii. p. 418.



gularly, and so harmoniously, that at a distance, the whole seemed as if it were but one voice. Their chief fault was, that they were apt to allow their voices to sink, especially in long metre; but this defect was remedied by the help of instruments. Their band of music consisted of two or three violins, a couple of flutes, and a few guitars. Some of the Greenlanders had learned to play such church tunes as they knew on these instruments in two parts; and they might have become still greater proficient in music, had it been judged necessary, for they themselves had a taste for it. Several of them had also learned to blow the trumpet and the French horn, which were employed as a signal, instead of a bell, for calling the congregation to their several meetings.<sup>w</sup>

Though the Brethren, in the admission of the Greenlanders to baptism, paid greater regard to the state of their hearts, than to their intellectual attainments, yet most of the converts were by no means defective in the doctrinal knowledge of the gospel. There was, indeed, a material difference between those who were baptized in their infancy, and trained up under the eye of the missionaries, and such as were not connected with them until they were advanced in life. The young people enjoyed not only the advantage of the daily catechetical exercises, which the adults had not leisure to attend, but most of them learned to read, and consequently were able to comprehend more fully, and to retain more perfectly, what they were taught. Many of the old people, however, by their diligence,

<sup>w</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 423.



and by the influence of the Holy Spirit upon their hearts, made surprising progress in Christian knowledge. It was often observed, that such as possessed more grace than knowledge at the time of their baptism, soon outstripped, even in understanding, others who, in this respect, were superior to them; while, on the other hand, those who, after baptism, made little progress in grace, remained at the same time defective in knowledge. We shall here select a few instances of their views of divine truth, and of their manner of expressing themselves; though it must be acknowledged, that the specimen is, on the whole, of a favourable nature. "I am enabled," wrote one of the female helpers, "to rejoice daily, since I know that I have a Saviour; and that I have nothing else to crave while I am upon earth. Oh! had I not him nor felt him, I should be like a dead creature. Whenever I eat the body, and drink the blood of Jesus, I feel new life in me. I was exceeding glad that our teachers visited us, and shall not forget them; but I shall set my Saviour most of all before me. We are well assured, that if we had not him, we could not be happy. I know that I have a heart desirous after Jesus' blood; and that I have no other Saviour but him who shed his blood. Him I love, because he redeemed me, and chose me out of the Heathen: And because he loved me, I will love him in return with all my heart." One of the helpers, in addressing his countrymen, made use of the following striking simile: "It is with us, as when a thick mist covers the land, which hinders us from seeing and knowing any thing certain. But when the mist disperses, we get sight of one corner of



the land after another; and when the sun breaks forth, we see every thing clearly and distinctly. Thus it is with us. While we remain at a distance from our Saviour, we are dark and ignorant of ourselves; but the nearer approaches we make to him, the more light we obtain in our hearts; and thus we learn to discover all good in him, and all evil in ourselves." We suppose it was the same helper who, on another occasion, made use of the following comparison: "When, in summer, we carry a light," (referring to a kind of light used in Greenland, consisting of moss soaked with train oil,) "when, in summer, we carry a light in a high wind from one tent to another, flakes often fall to the ground, and set the dry grass on fire. Thus, when our Saviour came upon earth, he brought fire along with him, and scattered it round amongst men: And now he sends his servants forth into all the world. These he has likewise sent unto us, with his word which he has given them for us. This they have scattered among us, and it has kindled life in our hearts; or else we would still be dead, like the rest who continue to walk in darkness." The only other example we shall give, is the reply which one of the female converts, made to a widow from the north, who said to her: "It is a very happy thing for thee, that thou goest to all the meetings of the faithful; and I see plainly, that thy heart at all times reaps some good from it. The reason of this no doubt is, that thou art not so bad as I."—"No," answered the other, "that is not the reason: Our Saviour has not chosen me because I am good; but because I am a poor wretched corrupted sinner. He receives none but poor sin-



ners, who cannot be satisfied without him ; just such he selects out of all. Thou art not too bad for him ; but perhaps esteemest thyself better than thou art : Therefore it is thou canst not yet truly rejoice in the Saviour.”<sup>x</sup> \*

<sup>x</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 267, 300, 334, 385, 427, 431.

\* The following instance of reasoning in a Greenlander displays greater powers of thinking, than the conclusions of many a modern infidel philosopher. We strongly suspect, indeed, it is somewhat indebted to the narrator. One of the missionaries (whether he belonged to the Danish or the Moravian mission is not mentioned) having expressed his surprise to some of the baptized, that they should formerly have led so senseless and thoughtless a life, one of them made the following striking reply : “ It is true, we were ignorant Heathens, and knew nothing of God or a Saviour ; and, indeed, who should tell us of him till you came ? But thou must not imagine, that no Greenlander thinks about these things. I myself have often thought, a kajak, with all its tackle and implements, does not grow into existence of itself, but must be made by the labour and ingenuity of man ; and one that does not understand it would directly spoil it. Now, the meanest bird has far more skill displayed in its structure than the best kajaks, and no man can make a bird. But there is still greater art shewn in the formation of a man, than of any other creature. Who was it that made him ? I bethought me, he proceeded from his parents, and they from their parents. But some must have been the first parents. Whence did they come ? Common report tells me, they grew out of the earth. But if so, why does it not still happen, that men grow out of the earth ? And from whence did this same earth, the sea, the sun, the moon, and the stars arise into existence ? Certainly there must be some Being who made all these things—a Being that always was, and can never cease to be. He must be inexpressibly more mighty, knowing and wise, than the wisest man. He must be good too, because every thing that he has made is good, useful, and necessary for us. Ah ! did I but know him, how would I love him and ho-



In Greenland, as well as in other places, the Brethren do not allow the unmarried people of different sexes to mix together in public, and still less in private, except so far as is absolutely necessary; nor do they permit them to carry on courtships for years together, as often happens in other communities. As soon, however, as a Greenlander attains the age of twenty, and is judged capable of maintaining a family, it is thought fit he should enter into the married state. His parents, or if they are not in life, the missionaries take the charge of this; for though every individual is at perfect liberty to make the proposal himself, yet none almost ever do it, as they all know that the Brethren constantly study their welfare. When a proposition of this kind is made to a young man, he is first asked, Whether or not he has fixed his choice already; and if he has, it is readily agreed to, unless there is ground to apprehend it may prove injurious to his temporal or spiritual interests. But if as yet he has fixed his affections on no particular person, one of the young women is mentioned to him; and as the missionaries reserve to themselves the power of refusing the marriage ceremony, if the choice he has made appears to them improper, so he is at full liberty to reject the partner which they propose to him, if she is not per-

nour him! But who has seen him? Who has ever conversed with him? None of us poor men. Yet there may be men, too, that know something of him. Oh! could I but speak with such! Therefore, said he, as soon as ever I heard you speak of this Great Being, I believed it directly with all my heart, because I had so long desired to hear it." *Crantz's Hist. Green.* vol. i. p. 198.



fectly agreeable to him. Should he, however, after due consideration, acquiesce in the proposal, it is next communicated to his intended bride. But here arise the principal difficulties ; for though the Christian females no longer imitate the unseemly behaviour of the Heathen, in pulling out their hair or running away in a fury when marriage is proposed to them, \* yet they often return a flat denial to the proposals made to them, and after that, persuasion is vain. If, however, she accepts of the offer, the parties, after a short exhortation, are betrothed to each other in presence of their relations ; their intention is announced to the whole congregation, and they are recommended to their prayers. After sometime, they are united in marriage by one of the missionaries, in the name of the Holy Trinity ; and both of them, at a love-feast, take leave of the choir to which they belonged, and receive its best wishes for their happiness in the married state. †

When any of the Christian Greenlanders appear to be dying, one of the missionaries imparts the blessing of the congregation to them, with imposition of the hands ; and as soon as the spirit has departed, the relations dress the corpse, and sew it up in a skin, instead of depositing it in a coffin. Being placed on a bier, it is covered with a white cloth, on which is inscribed a Greenland verse, usually in reference to the resurrection, the letters of which are formed of red ribbons. After a funeral dis-

† Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 438.

\* Among the Heathen Greenlanders, the women never marry until compulsion is employed with them. They are commonly beaten by the old women, to force them to yield consent. Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 158.



course in the church, four of the Greenlanders carry it to the grave, one of the missionaries going before, and the other Greenlanders following behind, two and two in a row. It is then committed to the cold and silent dust in the joyful hope of a happy resurrection.<sup>z</sup>

In 1804, C. F. Rudolph, one of the missionaries, in returning to Europe after labouring twenty-six years in Greenland, experienced a very remarkable deliverance at sea. Having embarked on board a vessel bound for Copenhagen, he was detained a number of weeks in the harbour; but the captain, at length, resolved to set sail, as he understood there was no ice about Nunarsoak. Three days after, however, a storm arose from the south-west, and drove the mountains of ice close upon the ship. The scene was awfully tremendous and sublime. The vessel, with her sails close reefed, drove among the ice before the wind, and it seemed as if she would every moment be crushed to pieces. She, at length, struck with great violence against a large field of ice: Several planks started at once; the water rushed into her; and, in a very short time, only the larboard gunwale appeared above the surface. The captain and the sailors immediately took to their boats, and carried off one party after another to a neighbouring field of ice. Rudolph and his wife were the last who were taken off: by this time they were above the knees in the water, holding fast by the shrouds. Being only about a league from land, they now made towards the shore; but the large boat was so heavily laden, it had already

<sup>z</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. ii. p. 441.



taken in so much water, and the wind was so high, that they were afraid it would sink, and therefore they were obliged to sail to the nearest island they could reach. It proved to be a rough, pointed, naked rock. Here they endeavoured to land the provisions which they had saved from the wreck; but in making the attempt, the boats, with eight of the crew on board, were carried away by the storm, driven to the opposite shore, and appeared to be dashed to pieces among the rocks. The others being thus left destitute of provisions, had nothing before them but the dismal prospect of perishing of hunger on this miserable uninhabited island. It was a heavy rain the whole day, and in the evening they lay down to sleep close to each other, without either tent or covering. Here they were completely wet, lying as it were in a pool of water; for, besides the incessant rain, the water flowed in streams from the summit of the rock upon their resting place.

After two days, the captain and most of the crew endeavoured to gain the shore, by walking across the ice. The attempt was extremely hazardous, as they had to leap from one piece of ice to another, and might easily have fallen into the sea between them. Rudolph and his wife would willingly have joined them; but as they had now been without food for two days, they did not think they had strength remaining to undergo the fatigue. The crew, however, promised that should they reach the shore in safety, they would send off a boat to rescue them. Besides them, there remained on the island the ship's cook; and on an adjoining rock,



there were two others of the crew who came over the ice several times to see them.

In this dismal situation, they remained till the ninth day. When the sun shone, they employed themselves in drying the few articles they had saved from the wreck: but they were at last so enfeebled with cold and hunger, that they scarcely had strength to perform even this small service; for during all this time they had no support, but the fresh water collected in the chinks and holes of the rocks, of which they every now and then drank a little. All day long, they looked with eager eyes towards the land in the hope of discovering some Greenlander coming to their relief; but as they looked from day to day in vain, they began to fear that the crew had perished, in attempting to reach the shore. There now, therefore, seemed no prospect before them, but that of ending their lives on this barren rock; of lying unburied under the canopy of heaven; and of becoming food to the ravens, and the other birds of prey, which were continually hovering around them. Painful, however, as were these circumstances, they felt perfectly resigned to the will of God, and united in singing hymns relative to their departure into the world of spirits.

At length, however, on the evening of the ninth day, Rudolph's wife, as they were lying down to rest, happened to raise herself up, and espied two Greenlanders, in their kajaks, making towards the island, and hailing them. Their enfeebled limbs having now collected new strength, they immediately climbed to the summit of the rock, and called to their deliverers, to let them know where



they were. On landing, the Greenlanders told them, that they had been in search of them the whole day, and at last concluded that they must be dead. On reaching the shore the following evening, they found that the whole crew, with the exception of one man, had escaped in safety, after suffering dreadful hardships in the attempt. On their way to Lichtenau, which was about twenty-eight miles distant, they met a boat, in which was one of the Danish missionaries, who was astonished to see them alive, as he concluded they must have perished, and had come so far, with the view of carrying their corpses to that place for interment. Having spent the following winter, with their brethren, at that settlement, they again set off for Europe, the ensuing year; and after encountering many hardships and dangers in sailing along the icy shores of Greenland, they arrived in safety at Copenhagen.<sup>a</sup>

In 1807, after the commencement of hostilities between England and Denmark, the intercourse of Greenland with Europe was interrupted, and continued to be so for several years. In consequence of this, the Brethren, particularly at New Herrnhuth and Lichtenfels, were reduced to the greatest distress for want of the necessaries of life. In these trying circumstances, they obtained some assistance from the Danish colonies, so that they still had bread to eat, though, in order to make it last as long as possible, they measured, as it were, every morsel which they used. The colonists themselves were in similar difficulties, and were put

<sup>a</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 341.



upon half allowance: in some places they suffered little less than famine, and were under the necessity of sustaining life on small herrings, muscles, and even sea-grass. During this period, the Greenlanders had in general a sufficiency of food, and though the Brethren were able to make them no adequate compensation, they often brought them a supply of provisions. No European, however, can long subsist on what the Greenlanders use for food, without a portion of bread, as it is soon followed by Dysentery, which carries off the patient in a short time; but yet, by these means, the missionaries were preserved from starvation during a period of some years. In the meanwhile, several attempts were made to supply them and the other Europeans in Greenland with provisions, but by one accident or another, they succeeded only in a partial degree. Through the humanity of the British government, the Danes, notwithstanding the war, were permitted to send vessels with provisions to their colonies in that country; and the Brethren in Europe were enabled by the same means to forward supplies to their missionaries, who on receiving them were filled with sentiments of the most lively gratitude and joy.<sup>b</sup>

In July 1812, John C. Kleinschmidt, one of the Brethren, sailed from Lichtenfels for New Herrnhuth, intending to proceed from thence to Europe, in order to place his children in one of the schools of the Brethren for their education, an advantage peculiar to the Moravian missionaries, who, by this

<sup>b</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 503; vol. v. p. 80, 113, 195, 237; vol. vi. p. 194, 216.



means, are freed from all care and anxiety about their families, as the same charge is there taken of them as if they were under their own parental eye. Having reached New Herrnhuth after a very disagreeable and dangerous voyage, he at length embarked from that place with four of his children, and the widow and daughter of another of the missionaries, on board the vessel which had this season brought supplies to the European settlements in Greenland. Scarcely had they sailed, when there arose from the north-west a violent hurricane which raged for three days without intermission. When the tempest was at its height, they suddenly heard a most tremendous crash: the vessel trembled to its centre, and seemed as if it had received some dreadful blow. Such as were in the cabin could not conjecture the cause, but expected every moment that she would go to pieces. The captain rushed upon deck, and exclaimed, "We are all lost." The passengers were seized with consternation at these frightful words: nothing seemed now before them but immediate death. Kleinschmidt endeavoured to comfort his poor terrified children as well as he was able, and represented to them the passage out of this world under as pleasant an aspect as his own painful feelings would permit. He and his widowed sister now united in singing some verses relative to the happiness of departing to be with Christ, and though their voices were nearly drowned with their tears, yet they enjoyed so powerful a sense of the presence of God, that amidst all the noise and raging of the storm, they felt perfectly calm and tranquil, waiting in solemn suspense for the moment when he should transport them to his heavenly kingdom. In



the meanwhile, the captain entered the cabin, and informed them that the report they had heard was occasioned by a flash of lightning which had struck the ship, and thrown down two of the sailors, one of whom was killed on the spot. Having taken in the last sail and made fast the rudder, they committed themselves to the mercy of the waves by which they were tossed about in a most furious manner. The storm at length abated; but the weather was still very tempestuous. A few days before they arrived at Leith, it became necessary to put them on short allowance of water, a circumstance which was peculiarly distressing to the children, who were perpetually crying for drink, in consequence of the extreme thirst created by the salt provisions. Having at length reached that place, the young creatures were astonished beyond measure at the beautiful aspect of the country. It was to them as if they had been transported into a new world. In Greenland they had never so much as seen a tree. After a short stay at Leith, they proceeded to the Brethren's settlement at Fulneck in Yorkshire, where they were received with great kindness by their friends.<sup>c</sup>

In May 1813, Kleinschmidt and several other Brethren and Sisters sailed from Leith for Greenland in a Danish vessel, which had obtained a license from the British government; and, after a voyage of five weeks, they arrived in Disco-bay. The captain had promised to land them, if possible, near one of their own settlements; but, with more than savage cruelty, he passed them all, and carried

<sup>c</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 334.



them to the north. He might easily have set them ashore at Lichtenfels or New Herrnhuth, as there was no ice to obstruct the passage, and the wind was most favourable; but he kept sailing on night and day; and when the mate and sailors remonstrated with him on the cruelty of taking them so far out of their way, he replied: "Never mind, they have the summer before them." In consequence of this wanton barbarity, two of them had to sail back in a boat 600 miles to New Herrnhuth; another family had to proceed near 700 to Lichtenfels; and Kleinschmidt no less than 1100 to Lichtenau. The Brethren destined to the two northerly settlements reached them without much difficulty; but Kleinschmidt and his wife, after parting with their friends at Lichtenfels, were more than once in imminent danger amidst the fields and mountains of ice which threatened to crush their little vessel to atoms, and to consign them to a watery grave. Happily, however, they escaped with their life, and at length reached Lichtenau in safety.<sup>d</sup>

In January 1821, the number of persons belonging to the Brethren's congregations in Greenland was as follows:

| <i>Begun.</i> | <i>Settlements.</i> |      |
|---------------|---------------------|------|
| 1733          | New Herrnhuth,..... | 359  |
| 1758          | Lichtenfels,.....   | 331  |
| 1774          | Lichtenau,.....     | 588  |
|               | Total,              | 1278 |

<sup>d</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 374, 475; vol. vi. p. 199, 206.



To some these numbers may appear inconsiderable; but let it be remembered they constitute a large proportion of the Greenland nation. The population of this wild inhospitable region, according to the latest accounts, does not exceed six or seven thousand, so that if this estimate be correct, the Christian converts under the care of the Brethren form about one sixth of the whole inhabitants of the country.<sup>e</sup>

With respect to the total number of Greenlanders who have been baptized by the Brethren since the commencement of the mission, we possess no statement to a late period; but from the accounts which were given some years ago, compared with the numbers who appear to have been annually baptized, we apprehend they may be estimated at about four thousand five hundred. A few years ago, only two of the converts at Lichtenfels had relapsed into Paganism, since the commencement of the mission; at New Herrnhuth the number was nearly the same; and at Lichtenau it was supposed to be only a few more.<sup>f</sup> This certainly is a very extraordinary fact, and is a striking proof of the strictness of the Brethren in the admission of persons to baptism, and of the care with which they afterwards watch over them.

Such, indeed, has been the success of the Brethren in Greenland, that for many years past, the settlements at New Herrnhuth and Lichtenfels, can scarcely be considered as missions among the

<sup>e</sup> Crantz's Hist. Green. vol. i. p. 11.—Egede (P.) Nachrichten von Gronl.—Dedication, p. 4.—Edin. Encyclop. vol. i. p. 486.

<sup>f</sup> Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. ii. p. 39.—MS. Accounts in the Author's possession.



heathen, as it is comparatively seldom that they are increased by any converts from among the savages. The inhabitants of these two places consist chiefly of persons baptized in their infancy, and educated from their earliest years in Christian principles; and, though they, no doubt, have their infirmities and failings, yet of most of them, it may be said with truth, that they walk worthy of the gospel. Such of the Greenlanders in the neighbourhood of New Herrnhuth as do not belong to the Church of the Brethren, have all been baptized by the Danish missionaries, so that there are now no traces of paganism in that quarter of the country. Lichtenau, the other settlement of the Moravians, may still be considered as a mission among the heathen. In the neighbourhood of that place the inhabitants are still pagan, some of whom are occasionally added to the church.<sup>g</sup>

Besides the Harmony of the Gospels, which the Brethren translated a few years after their arrival in Greenland, and which has since been printed, they translated the whole of the New Testament, and such portions of the Old Testament as they judged most necessary for the Christian converts. They likewise printed a Hymnbook, a Spelling-book, and a Catechism or Summary of Christian doctrine for the use of their congregations; they translated a short Compendium of the Bible for the children; and they compiled, with great pains, a Grammar and Dictionary of this barbarous language.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>g</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 219; vol. vi. p. 373, 375.—Fortsetzung Bruder Hist. tom. ii. p. 41; tom. iii. p. 626.

<sup>h</sup> MS. Accounts in the Author's possession.—Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. i. p. 328.—Period. Acc. vol. v. p. 379; vol. vii. p. 22; vol. viii. p. 81.



## SECTION II.

## WEST INDIA ISLANDS.

## ARTICLE I.

## ST. THOMAS.

IN August 1732, Leonard Dober and David Nitschman, left Herrnhuth in Upper Lusatia, for Copenhagen, intending to proceed from thence to St. Thomas, for the purpose of instructing the negroes on that island. Dober was one of the two Brethren who had so generously offered to sell themselves as slaves, should they find no other way of obtaining an opportunity of instructing the negroes. Nitschman was merely to accompany him in the voyage, and then to return to the congregation. On their way to Copenhagen, they visited a number of pious friends, many of whom endeavoured to dissuade them from their design, representing to them the difficulties and dangers with which it would be attended. The Brethren did not attempt to answer their objections, the force of which they clearly saw, but trusting in God, they resolved to follow their own convictions of duty, and to act agreeably to what they considered his holy will. The Countess of Stollberg was the only individual who endeavoured to confirm them in their purpose: she encouraged and animated them to make every sacrifice for the cause of the Redeemer, saying, he was well worthy, that we should even die for his sake. The sentiments of the Countess were so much the more cheering to the



Brethren, as except Count Zinzendorf, nobody had hitherto spoken to them, in the language of comfort and encouragement.

On their arrival at Copenhagen, the Brethren had many difficulties to encounter. They were told that no ship would take them to St. Thomas; that should they even get thither, it was extremely doubtful, whether they would find it possible to preach to the negroes; and, that the idea of selling themselves as slaves, was entirely out of the question, as no white person could be employed in that capacity. Even the negro, Anthony, whose representations had been the occasion of the whole undertaking, was now so strongly prejudiced against the church of the Brethren, that he retracted all he had said concerning the anxiety of his sister, and others of the slaves for instruction, and endeavoured to dissuade them from their design. But notwithstanding these various trials, Dober and Nitschman remained firm to their purpose; the less help there appeared for them in man, the more they looked to God for assistance. Struck with their steadfastness, several persons in Copenhagen began to view their design with a favourable eye: among these were his Majesty's two chaplains, several of the counsellors of state, and some members of the Royal family, who were so condescending as to befriend and assist them.<sup>a</sup>

Having embarked at Copenhagen for St. Thomas, the Brethren reached that island after a voyage of about ten weeks. Immediately on their arrival they sought out the sister and the brother of Anthony,

<sup>a</sup> Oldendorps Geschichte der Mission der Evangelischen Bruder auf St. Thomas, St. Croix und St. Jan, tom. ii. p. 456.



to whom they read a letter which he had sent them, and they, at the same time, spoke to them and to the other negroes who were present, of the method of salvation by Christ Jesus. They do not appear for the present to have assembled the slaves for public worship; but confined themselves entirely to efforts of a private nature, visiting individuals, and instructing them in the things which belonged to their everlasting peace.<sup>b</sup>

During his stay on the island, Nitschman found employment in the way of his trade as a carpenter; and though he was able by this means to provide both for himself and his companion, yet Dober felt it extremely disagreeable not to be able to live by the labour of his own hands, especially as he had the prospect of enjoying the assistance of his brother only for a short time. He, therefore attempted to work at his occupation as a potter; but after successive trials, he was obliged to relinquish it. He then proposed to support himself by fishing; but a planter to whom they had been recommended, dissuaded him from this as a plan not likely to succeed. He at the same time, offered him the freedom of his house and table, until he should find suitable employment; but Dober was unwilling to lay himself under obligations which might interfere with the chief design of his residence on the island, considering it as more becoming a servant of Christ to eat his own bread, than to owe it to the friendship of others. He would gladly have taken up his abode with a negro in his miserable hut, have assisted him in the la-

<sup>b</sup> Oldendorps Geschichte, tom. ii. p. 460, 464, 466, 474.



bours of the field, and been pleased with his homely fare; but none of the slaves dared to receive him, as this would scarcely have been tolerated by the overseers.<sup>c</sup>

After the departure of Nitschman, Dober was placed in very destitute circumstances. He was advised, indeed, by all to return with him, as after his embarkation he would have no visible means of support; yet dark as was the prospect before him, he resolved not to abandon his post, trusting that the Master whom he served would provide for him. Three weeks had not elapsed, when he was offered the situation of steward to the governor, which he accepted on condition that he should be at liberty to act as he pleased when his work was finished. Here he was placed in circumstances of external comfort; but as he had little time or opportunity for visiting and instructing the slaves, he at length resigned the situation. He now lived in extreme poverty in the town of Tappus, earning a scanty livelihood, chiefly by acting as a watchman, and subsisting principally on bread and water. He had not, however, been more than twenty months on the island when he returned to Europe, having been chosen by the congregation at Herrnhuth to the office of an elder among them.<sup>d</sup>

In December 1735, Frederick Martin accompanied by John A. Bonike, and Theodore W. Grothaus, sailed from the Texel for St. Thomas, with the view of renewing the mission on that island. Immediately after his arrival, Martin met

<sup>c</sup> Oldendorps Geschichte, tom. ii. p. 471. <sup>d</sup> Ibid. tom. ii. p. 474, 476, 490, 492.



with the little company of negroes whom Dober used to visit. He did not, however, content himself with holding daily meetings with the negroes in Tappus and the neighbourhood; but extended his labours to some of the more distant plantations. The negroes attended on his instructions in considerable numbers, and listened to him with great attention. In his intercourse with them he won their affections wonderfully, by his kind and condescending manners. He used to shake hands with them, sit down beside them, and converse with them as if they had been his friends and his equals. These little acts of condescension made a strong impression on the hearts of the negroes, who had never been accustomed to such treatment from a White man, and convinced them more effectually than any other means he could have employed, of the sincerity of his regard for them. He, at the same time, divided his own scanty supplies with such of them as were poor and needy: The cripple, the lame, and other miserable creatures who crawled to his door, found in him a friend and benefactor.<sup>c</sup>

Hitherto the mission had been favoured by many of the inhabitants, and had met with serious opposition from none; but when religion began to spread among the negroes, its enemies endeavoured to check its progress. Many of the White people prohibited their slaves from attending the meetings for divine worship: and ordered such as were guilty of this high crime to be beaten and whipped. Some endeavoured to excite the Government to suppress the mission by its authority: Others sought to check

<sup>c</sup> Oldendorps Geschichte, tom. ii. p. 506, 514, 522, 525, 537.



its progress by seducing the converts to sin. The negro women, in particular, who would no longer submit to the criminal desires of their masters, had much to endure; but they in general bore their trials with great patience, and were even excited by them to seek with more earnestness the salvation of their souls.<sup>f</sup>

In September 1737, died John A. Bonike, under circumstances of a very painful nature. This young man came to St. Thomas with the view of working at his trade for the support of Martin, as well as of himself, that the former might give more undivided attention to the instruction of the negroes. He had not, however, been long on the island when he grew conceited of his own gifts, conceived prejudices against the other Brethren, and at last separated himself from them. He retired to Muskitebay and began to instruct the negroes in that quarter; but the instructions he gave them, were strongly tinctured with enthusiasm. A few weeks after, when he called on the Brethren at Tappus, they entreated him in an affectionate manner to humble himself before God and to acknowledge his error; but he persisted in maintaining his own opinion, and on going away, called on God to judge between them. Soon after his departure, they heard a very loud thunderclap, and in a short time, they received the mournful intelligence that Bonike had been struck from his horse and killed on the spot. After he was struck, according to the account of a young negro who accompanied him, he made some fruitless attempts to stand, and be-

<sup>f</sup> Oldendorps Geschichte, tom. ii. p. 511, 527, 535.]



fore medical aid was procured, he was dead. His lifeless corpse was brought to the Brethren at Tappus, and on the following day was committed by them with sorrow to the grave.<sup>s</sup>

In October 1738, Frederick Martin and Matthew Freundlich his assistant, together with the wife of the latter, were thrown into prison under circumstances of rather an extraordinary nature. Timothy Fredler who was originally sent to St. Croix,\* and afterwards withdrew from the congregation, had of late come to St. Thomas; but seemed now to have no object in view except the improvement of his own worldly circumstances. The difference between him and the two missionaries was so marked, that the Christian negroes no longer considered him as a brother; Martin, however, did not entirely withdraw from him; but sought to recover him from the snare into which he had fallen. Fredler had soon after the misfortune to be accused and imprisoned as a thief. The inspector of the plantations of the Lord Chamberlaine Pless, alleged that in his chest, he had found various articles belonging to that nobleman, to the value of about fifteen rix-dollars. In consequence of this charge, Fredler was thrown into prison, and the two Brethren, who, it was supposed, must at least have known of his crime, were summoned before a court of justice, and required to give evidence upon oath; but as this was inconsistent with their principles, they refused, though, at the same time, they promised to answer such questions as might be pro-

<sup>s</sup> Oldendorps Geschichte, tom. ii. p. 507, 551.

\* See Article II.



posed to them in strict accordance with truth, and as in the presence of God. As nothing would induce them to violate the dictates of their consciences, they were fined in thirty rix-dollars; and though they declared they had not as much in their possession, yet on failing of payment, they were all three committed to prison. They still expressed the utmost readiness to answer whatever questions might be proposed to them relative to Fredler's affair, of which they in fact knew nothing; but as they refused to do it upon oath, the fine which was already more than they could pay, was increased to sixty, and afterwards to ninety rix-dollars.<sup>b</sup>

Previous to these events, the prejudices against the Brethren which were at this period in powerful operation in Europe, had reached the island of St. Thomas, and furnished the enemies of the missionaries with a specious pretext for checking their labours among the negroes. Mr. Borm, the minister of the Reformed church, presented in the name of the consistory, a representation to Government calling in question the validity of Frederick Martin's ordination, and of the ordinances administered by him, particularly the marriage he had celebrated between Freundlich his assistant, and a mulatto woman, one of the converts. In consequence of this petition, the governor had prohibited Martin from administering the sacraments until he should obtain instructions on this point from Copenhagen. Thus the matter appeared for the present to be settled; but while the missionaries were in prison, the accusation of Borm was revived, particularly

<sup>b</sup> Oldendorps Geschichte, tom. ii. p. 564.



with respect to the marriage of Freundlich. Without waiting for a decision from the court of Denmark, their enemies determined not only that it was invalid; but that within twenty-four hours he should pay a fine of one hundred rix-dollars; that he should be imprisoned during life; that his wife should be sold as a slave, and the proceeds devoted to the hospital! This cruel sentence, the judges founded on the punishment which the Danish laws inflict on such as live together as man and wife, without being regularly married by a priest.<sup>i</sup>

In January 1739, Count Zinzendorf landed on the island of St. Thomas, accompanied by two others of the Brethren who came to assist in the mission. Until his arrival, he knew nothing of the situation of the missionaries, so that his coming at this particular crisis appeared singularly providential. Previous to this, Martin had been liberated from prison on bail, on account of the state of his health which had suffered materially from his confinement. Freundlich and his wife, however, were still prisoners; but on the application of Count Zinzendorf for liberty to them for a few days, they were not only released for a short period, but were not again required to return to jail. Here it may not be improper to add, that Fredler also was at length liberated from his confinement; that there appears to have been no foundation for the foul charge that was brought against him; and that to the close of his life he maintained an affectionate respect for the Brethren; and at his death, left part of his property to the mission.<sup>k</sup>

<sup>i</sup> Oldendorps Geschichte, tom. ii. p. 560, 572.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. tom. ii. p. 574, 583, 597, 617, 748.



The hostility to the Brethren, however, had not ceased. Their enemies still insisted that they should be banished from the island, and in a petition to government, desired that they should be entirely prohibited from instructing the negroes. On the day before the Count's departure, when the baptized were assembling to a farewell meeting at Tappus, some of the White people attacked them with sticks and swords. After maltreating the poor defenceless slaves, who, under the worst usage, durst not lift their hand to a White man, the rioters hastened to Posannenbergh, a small plantation which the missionaries had lately purchased and where they now resided. There they fell on the few negroes who remained, beat them, and wounded them, and put them to flight. They then broke the chairs, the glasses, the dishes, and other articles of furniture: every thing, in short, was destroyed, or dashed to pieces, or thrown out of the house.<sup>1</sup>

The Governor, indeed, offered to the Count to obtain satisfaction for this outrage, and even promised to be in future a father to the missionaries; yet scarcely had Zinzendorf taken his departure, when in compliance with the demands of some of the planters, he issued an order that no negro should appear after sunset, beyond the estate of his master; that a watch of four men should be appointed in every quarter to go about and disperse any slaves whom they might find assembled; and that every offender should on the following day be called before the court, and punished with thirty lashes, and pay all costs. This order, the Brethren

<sup>1</sup> Oldendorps Geschichte, tom. ii. p. 557, 587, 596.



in the simplicity of their hearts, imagined was merely a renewed declaration of the law common throughout the West India islands, which prohibits the great nocturnal assemblies of the slaves as dangerous to the peace of the community, and supposed that it could have no reference to those meetings which they held for instructing them in the principles of religion, as that would be a complete infringement of the toleration granted them by the Court of Denmark. They, therefore, proceeded in their ordinary course, and on the following sabbath held their meeting after sunset as usual. Next night about eight o'clock, six White people completely armed came to Posannenbergh: by the way they had seized two of the negroes, beaten them and bound them. On hearing the noise, the missionaries went out and entreated them not to disturb the assembly: but the ruffians appealed to the order of the governor, and boisterously insisted on searching the house. In vain did Martin represent to them the toleration granted them by the crown: three of them armed with naked swords, and loaded pistols, burst into the house, where were assembled twenty-four of the negroes. Martin still endeavoured to appease them; but as he could obtain no mercy from men, he had recourse for protection to God, and with the whole of the little assembly, fell down on his knees in the presence of the White people. In the midst of this affecting scene, the three others entered the house, and instigated by their leader, attacked the defenceless negroes in the most outrageous manner. The Brethren with their characteristic disinterestedness, placed themselves before the unoffending people, and received



the blows which were aimed at them. Meanwhile, the negroes sprang out of the house, one after another, most of them without sustaining any material injury. Enraged at their escape, the drunken leader of the band required the missionaries to bring them back, a demand which it is needless to say he made in vain. His vengeance being still insatiated, he attempted to stab the Brethren with his sword, but was prevented by his companions. Though none died in consequence of this brutal attack, yet several were severely injured. One of the Brethren received a wound in the shoulder and some cuts through his coat: His wife was stabbed in the breast through her handkerchief. The wife of another of the missionaries was wounded in the shoulder, and a woman who had a child in her arms, was cut in the head.

Two days after, five White men came to the house of the Brethren, and on finding no negroes with them, assailed them with mockery and threatenings, brandished about their naked swords and pistols, and one led his horse into their apartment. Before their departure, they read the order of the governor concerning the watchers, and with many threatenings, gave them to understand that no negro would in future be allowed to attend their meetings.

The White people, however, soon grew tired of maintaining so strict a watch on the plantations, and after a few days, some hundreds of the negroes came again in the evening to Posannenbergh. As the missionaries could not think of denying instruction to those who manifested so much eagerness for it, they retired with them among the brushwood,



appointing some to watch and give notice if any White people appeared in the neighbourhood. In no instance, however, did they meet with any interruption, and after a short time they were again allowed to hold their assemblies without disturbance.

By desire of the governor the Brethren drew up an account of the wanton assault which had been committed upon them. In this statement they asked no satisfaction for themselves, nor any punishment of the offenders, but merely protection in future, yet simple as was their representation, it nearly involved them in new troubles. With the effrontery of consummate villains, two of the rioters denied the whole, purged themselves upon oath, and demanded that the missionaries should be punished as calumniators. After some weeks, however, they dropped their complaint, through the interposition of Mr. Carstens, one of the most respectable planters on the island, who, under all the trials of the Brethren, had uniformly been their kind and stedfast friend. An order was soon after received from the Court of Copenhagen in answer to the appeal which had been made to it, sanctioning the ordination of Martin, and authorizing him to preach, to administer the sacraments, and to celebrate marriage, a circumstance which happily put a period to the violent opposition they had of late experienced.<sup>m</sup>

In January 1740, Albinus T. Feder and Christian G. Israel, two missionaries destined to St. Thomas, were shipwrecked near that island. Feder appears to have been a man of some learning,

<sup>m</sup> Oldendorps Geschichte, tom. ii. p. 471, 602, 616.



having studied at the universities of Jena, Leipsic, and Halle. Israel was lame, of a weakly constitution, and walked mostly with a crutch ; but was at the same time full of zeal to make known the Redeemer among the heathen. Having sailed from Holland, they landed at St. Eustatius, and proceeded from thence in an English vessel for St. Thomas. As the voyage, though short, was dangerous on account of the numerous rocks and islets which infest the course, the captain afraid to sail in the dark, anchored one night under a small island called Skrop, near Tortola. In the morning there arose a terrible storm which drove the vessel on a rock within a short distance of the island. The sailors instantly took to the boat, but when the missionaries begged to be admitted, it was either carried away by the waves, or there was no room. Anxious to leave the ship, they, together with three negroes who were on board, crept along the bowsprit to the rock against which she had struck ; but still their situation was far from safe, as the place was so small, that they had to lie one upon another, while at the same time, the rigging of the vessel which hung over them, threatened to thrust them into the sea as often as it heaved from the one side to the other. At that moment, they had no resource, but suddenly to seize the sail and shove it past them.

As between the rock and the neighbouring island there appeared a number of stones at a small distance from one another, Feder resolved to attempt escaping across them to the shore. With this view he dropped down from the rock by means of a rope ; but just as he was setting his feet on one of



stones, he lost his balance, was seized by the waves, and dashed among the rocks. Beholding him rise again to the surface, apparently motionless, Israel gave him his parting blessing: "Go in peace," said he, "my dear brother." Instantly the body was swallowed up by the waves and was seen no more. Amidst this trying scene, his companion in tribulation felt perfectly resigned to the will of God, should he also be doomed to perish in the tempestuous ocean: the calm within his breast formed a striking contrast to the storm which raged without.

Meanwhile the stern of the vessel drove nearer the stones by which Feder had attempted to reach the shore. One of the persons who still remained on board, immediately threw out a plank, and by means of it got safe to land. Israel as well as some others wished to follow his example; but he found a difficulty in climbing again upon the bowsprit in order to go on board. This, however, proved his safety. The stern of the vessel was immediately overwhelmed by the waves, and five or six persons who remained on it were drowned.

As the ship was no longer in the way, the waves which had before broke against it, now beat over the rock without obstruction. Poor Israel was liable every moment to be washed into the sea, or to be wounded by the broken pieces of the vessel which were dashed about by the surf. He perceived three boats on shore, but none of them could approach the rock without imminent danger of destruction. At length, in the afternoon, some people succeeded in throwing a rope to him, and to a negro who still remained on the rock, and hauled them both ashore.



Having lost the whole of his little property in the wreck, Israel scarcely knew how he should get to St. Thomas; but in this extremity friends were unexpectedly raised up to assist him. He at length surmounted all his difficulties, and on reaching that island, was received by his brethren in the most affectionate manner. <sup>n</sup>

In the course of a few years, the mission to St. Thomas assumed a very promising aspect, through the indefatigable exertions of Frederick Martin and his fellow labourers. The negroes flocked to them for instruction in great numbers; and many of them appeared to be impressed with the word. Often the church would not contain the crowds who came to it: it was therefore necessary to hold divine worship under the canopy of heaven. For several years, indeed, the Brethren, from the mistaken views of some of them, baptized few of the converts; but afterwards they received great numbers, generally upwards of a hundred in the course of a year. Many of the baptized, however, deviated from the paths of religion, and some were guilty of grievous transgressions. This was a source of much distress to the missionaries; but yet they exercised singular patience and tenderness toward the wanderers, and in many instances succeeded in bringing them back to the fold of the Redeemer. <sup>o</sup>

In June 1750, the law was renewed that no negro should pass through the town of Tappus, or appear in the streets after ten o'clock at night.

<sup>n</sup> Oldendorp's *Geschichte*, tom. ii. p. 623.—Crantz's *Hist. Breth.* p. 312.

<sup>o</sup> Oldendorp's *Geschichte*, tom. ii. p. 622, 676, 681, 684, 738, 765, 799, 827, 934, 952, 971.



This, however, was not as formerly designed as a covert attack on the Brethren, or as a check to their labours among the slaves: it was occasioned by intelligence of a rebellion among the negroes in Surinam. There was now a great revolution in the public sentiment, in St. Thomas, with respect to the operations of the missionaries. Most of the White people were convinced that they were attended with beneficial effects on the slaves. On this occasion, an exception highly honourable to the Brethren, was made in favour of the negroes under their care. As it was not always possible to close the evening meetings in time for the slaves to be home before the appointed hour, the governor ordered that those who were furnished with a certificate by one of the missionaries, should be allowed to pass unmolested by the watch. <sup>p</sup>

Though the Brethren now met with no public persecution, and even enjoyed the approbation of the White inhabitants in general; yet they were not without frequent instances of private opposition. Some of the planters and overseers prohibited the negroes from attending on their instructions, and punished them on this account in the severest manner. Others to prevent their slaves from frequenting the meetings, oppressed them with heavy work, and did not allow them even the Sabbath to themselves, as is customary in the West India islands. In general, however, the poor creatures chose rather to submit to punishment, than absent themselves from the house of God. <sup>q</sup>

<sup>p</sup> Oldendorp's Geschichte, tom. ii. p. 787.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. tom. ii. p. 694, 788, 818, 933, 942.



In 1782, no fewer than one hundred and twenty-seven of the Brethren, including their families, had died on this and the two other Danish islands, St. Croix and St. Jan, since the commencement of the mission, a period of only half a century.<sup>r</sup> The ravages of disease among them were truly deplorable. New missionaries often scarcely arrived, when they or some of their family sickened and died: sometimes they followed each other in rapid succession to the grave. Even those who survived, had such severe and frequent attacks of sickness as materially interrupted their labours among the negroes: sometimes most of them were so ill at the same time, that one could scarcely help another.<sup>s</sup> The mortality among the missionaries in the Danish West India islands, is the more striking, when contrasted with the small number of deaths in Greenland. Of sixty-four Brethren and sisters who proceeded to that country during the first fifty years of the mission, forty-two were still living: seven only died while resident in that cold inhospitable region, and fifteen after their return from it.<sup>t</sup> But, though the mortality was so great, it is surprising with what cheerfulness others came forward to fill the ranks of those who had so prematurely fallen. On one occasion when it was made known to the congregation at Bethlehem in North America, that five persons had died within a short time on the island of St. Thomas, no fewer than eight Brethren voluntarily

<sup>r</sup> Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. i. p. 279.

<sup>s</sup> Oldendorp's Geschichte, tom. ii. p. 650, 674, 766, 810, 900, 908.

<sup>t</sup> Risler Erzählungen aus der Geschichte der Bruderkirche, tom. iii. p. 177.



offered that very day to go thither and supply their place.<sup>u</sup>

In 1789, this and the other Danish islands were visited with an extraordinary drought, which lasted about three years, and occasioned an universal failure of the crops. Numbers of the negroes died of hunger, as their masters were not in circumstances to support them. Many of the planters were driven by necessity to sell their slaves to foreign islands, particularly to those belonging to France and Spain. Some of the helpers were hindered from fulfilling the duties of their office, as they were appointed to watch and oversee the plantations, particularly on the Sabbath, being found to be persons in whom confidence might be placed at a period when the temptation to unfaithfulness was peculiarly strong. Many of the negroes could not come to church in consequence of their extreme weakness, and an idea spread very widely among them, that in their present trying circumstances, stealing could be no great sin. Some, even of the members of the congregation, adopting this pernicious notion, were guilty of theft: but others withstood the temptation with the utmost firmness, and chose rather to die than commit so foul a crime.<sup>v</sup>

With regard to the marriage of those negroes who embraced Christianity, the missionaries had at first considerable difficulties. It often happened that a man at the time of his conversion had more than one wife, a case, with respect to which, it was

<sup>u</sup> Spangenberg's Account, p. 37.

<sup>v</sup> Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. ii. p. 270; tom. iii. p. 365.



not very evident from scripture what course should be pursued. In one place the Apostle Paul says: "If any brother hath a wife that believeth not, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away." In another place he says, "A bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife." As nothing further is said in the New Testament on this subject, the Brethren laid down the following principles for the regulation of their conduct in cases of this description :

*First*, That they would not oblige a man who, previous to his conversion, had taken more than one wife, to put the others away without their consent.

*Secondly*, That notwithstanding this, they would not appoint such a man a helper in the congregation.

*Lastly*, That they would allow no one who had already embraced Christianity to take more than one wife ; and that he was to be considered as bound to her as long as she lived.

But notwithstanding these regulations, the Brethren had often great difficulties with regard to the marriage of slaves, even after their baptism. When a planter in the West Indies, for instance, died in debt, his slaves and other property were sold by auction ; and in these cases, part of the negroes were frequently purchased by proprietors from other islands, by which means it often happened, that not only parents and children, but husbands and wives, were for ever parted from each other.<sup>w</sup> How to act in such circumstances, the Brethren

<sup>w</sup> Spangenberg's Account, p. 99.



were at first quite at a loss ; and they appear for some time to have prohibited the converts from contracting another marriage, apprehending this to be inconsistent with the principles of Christianity.<sup>x</sup> Now, however, though they do not advise, yet neither do they hinder, a regular marriage with another person, especially if a family of children, or other circumstances, seem to render a helpmate necessary.<sup>y</sup>

In January 1813, the congregations of the Brethren on this island consisted of the following numbers :

| <i>Settlements.</i>  | <i>Baptized, &amp;c.</i> | <i>Communicants.</i> |
|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| New Herrnhuth, ..... | 1009                     | 430                  |
| Niesky, .....        | 1276                     | 758                  |
| Total,               | 2285                     | 1188 <sup>z</sup>    |

The total number of Blacks on the island of St. Thomas was estimated some years ago at six thousand,<sup>a</sup> so that the members of the Brethren's congregations include considerably more than one-third of the whole negro population. It is not unworthy of notice, that, though the opposition to them was at first so violent, yet now, there was not one manager on the whole island who prohibited his negroes from attending on their instructions, and not a single plantation, where there were not one or more Christian negroes.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>x</sup> Crantz's Hist. Breth. p. 542. <sup>y</sup> Period. Acc. vol. i. p. 14.

<sup>z</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 368.

<sup>a</sup> Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. ii. p. 28.

<sup>b</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 264.



## ARTICLE II.

## ST. CROIX.

IN August 1733, Tobias Leupold, Martin Schenk, and twelve others of the Brethren set off from Herrnhuth, with the view of proceeding chiefly to St. Croix. This island which had been almost entirely forsaken for thirty-seven years, had lately been purchased from the crown of France by the Danish West India Company. The Lord Chamberlain Pless, who had bought six plantations, induced by the favourable opinion he had formed of the Brethren, applied to the congregation at Herrnhuth for some of their number to go out as overseers of his estates, and, at the same time, to employ themselves in instructing the slaves. In consequence of this, a number of the Brethren offered to proceed to St. Croix; but though they went out partly in the character of colonists, the spread of the gospel among the negroes was the object they had chiefly in view.<sup>a</sup>

Having embarked from Copenhagen with near a hundred other persons, chiefly soldiers and labourers, they at length reached the West Indies after a very tedious and unpleasant voyage. As the island of St. Croix had been so long forsaken, it was now completely overgrown with trees and brushwood, the consequences of which soon appeared among the new settlers. Though most of the Brethren were weak and sickly at the time of their arrival, yet, partly from ignorance of the precautions ne-

<sup>a</sup> Oldendorp's Geschichte, tom. ii. p. 482.



cessary in a warm climate, and partly from laudable but mistaken principles, they denied themselves that rest and refreshment which were requisite to recruit their enfeebled health; they made exertions in clearing the land, and in other manual operations beyond their strength; they were at the same time ill accommodated in respect of lodgings, being much exposed to wet, and to the noxious vapours arising from the new cleared land. In consequence of these combined circumstances, they were soon attacked with fever and dysentery, which carried them one after another in rapid succession to the grave.<sup>b</sup>

To aggravate these external distresses some misunderstanding had arisen among them during the voyage, nor was harmony restored after their arrival in the West Indies. Some now appeared to be actuated by worldly motives, manifesting more concern for their own temporal interests than for the glory of Christ and the salvation of souls. Engaged in labouring for their own support, they made little or no exertion for instructing the negroes; and they even omitted, for a considerable time, the daily meetings for prayer.<sup>c</sup>

In February 1735, a second company of eleven persons set off from Herrnhuth for the island of St. Croix; but they were scarcely more fortunate than their predecessors. On their arrival, indeed, they succeeded in rekindling among such as still survived, a zeal for the conversion of the negroes and in restoring the meetings for prayer. Scarcely, how-

<sup>b</sup> Oldendorp's Geschichte, tom. ii. p. 494.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. tom. ii. p. 495, 500.



ever, had they begun to settle on the island, when they fell a prey one after another to those diseases which had already proved fatal to so many of their brethren. The few who survived, soon afterwards left the island, and the colony itself was for the present abandoned.<sup>d</sup>

In October 1740, Martin, Israel, and Weber, three of the Brethren in St. Thomas, sailed to St. Croix with the design of renewing the mission on that island, where a colony had again been settled. Not being able to procure lodgings in Christianstadt, they accepted of a small house on the plantations of the Lord Chamberlain Pless. It was at a considerable distance from the town, in a low uncultivated spot, surrounded by thick bushes which hindered the free circulation of air, a circumstance extremely prejudicial to health in a warm climate. In a short time the missionaries, with the exception of Martin who had returned to St. Thomas, were all taken ill; and, indeed, so long as they remained at this place, they never enjoyed perfect health. Notwithstanding their frequent indisposition, they did not, however, neglect the principal object of their residence on the island. Even when unable to visit the negroes, they spoke from their sickbed to such as called upon them. After labouring upwards of a year in St. Croix, they were recalled to St. Thomas in consequence of the urgent need of assistance on that island. The Brethren, however, did not entirely abandon St. Croix. They occasionally came thither from St. Thomas, baptized several of the negroes, and appointed some of them as helpers and

<sup>d</sup> Oldendorp's Geschichte, tom. ii. p. 502.



assistants, who, in the interval of these visits, maintained in some degree the influence of religion among their sable countrymen.<sup>e</sup>

In April 1751, George Ohneberg, accompanied by two others of the Brethren, proceeded from St. Thomas to St. Croix with the view of settling on the island. He was received with much joy by the Christian negroes; but for a considerable time both he and the slaves in the neighbourhood were kept in constant alarm by the frequent attempts which were made to burn their houses. This was the work, it was supposed, of some pagan negroes who were hostile to the instruction of their countrymen, and who sought by this means to put a period to it. In many instances the fire was discovered and quenched before it had done much mischief; but in others the huts of the negroes fell a prey to the flames. The poor creatures were afraid lest Ohneberg should leave them, as the attempts appeared to be made chiefly on his account; but he assured them that he would not forsake them, though he should lose his little all. His house was at length burned; but through the exertions of the Christian negroes the furniture was saved.<sup>f</sup>

In the course of a few years, the mission on the island of St. Croix assumed a very flourishing aspect. The Brethren were not, indeed, without their trials, but yet, amidst them all, they were cheered by witnessing the success of their labours. Multitudes of the negroes attended on their instructions, and many of them gave the most pleasing evidence of

<sup>e</sup> Oldendorp's Geschichte, tom. ii. p. 645, 699, 703, 707, 748, 846.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. tom. ii. p. 846.



the power of religion on their hearts. Some, so far from regretting the loss of their freedom, viewed it as a distinguished mercy, considering themselves inexpressibly more happy in a state of slavery with an opportunity of hearing the gospel, than if they had been at liberty in their native land, without that inestimable privilege.<sup>s</sup>

In January 1813, the congregations of the Brethren on this island consisted of the following numbers:

| <i>Settlements.</i>      | <i>Baptized, &amp;c.</i> | <i>Communicants.</i> |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| Friedenstal,.....        | 5161                     | 1711                 |
| Friedensberg,.....       | 2982                     | 897                  |
| Friedensfeld, about..... | 300                      | ...                  |
| Total,                   | 8443                     | 2608 <sup>h</sup>    |

The total number of Blacks in St. Croix, amounted some years ago to 26,589, so that the members of the Brethren's congregations form nearly one-third of the whole negro population.<sup>i</sup>

### ARTICLE III.

#### ST. JAN.

IN November 1754, John Brucker proceeded from St. Thomas to St. Jan, with the view of establishing a settlement on that island. For many years past the Brethren in St. Thomas had paid

<sup>s</sup> Oldendorp's Geschichte, tom. ii. p. 856, 860, 877, 880, 981, 994, 1003, 1014.

<sup>h</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 368, 400.

<sup>i</sup> Edin. Encyclop. vol. vii. p. 438.



frequent visits to St. Jan, and were attended by considerable numbers of the negroes; but as the poor creatures were in the interval left in a great measure without instruction, religion made little progress among them. There were, however, a few who were baptized, and who formed the beginning of a Christian congregation on the island.<sup>a</sup>

Even now, the progress of the mission in St. Jan was extremely slow. The negroes shewed little desire for instruction, grew negligent in attending the meetings for divine worship, and lost, in a great measure, any impressions they might have had of religion. Even the helpers in the congregation who should have been examples to the flock, were chargeable with similar faults, and entirely neglected the duties of their office. After a few years, however, the mission experienced a considerable revival. The number of converts in St. Jan, was not, indeed, so great as in some of the other West India islands; but in proportion to the population, it was greater, perhaps, than in any other mission in the whole world.<sup>b</sup>

In August 1793, there was a most tremendous hurricane in the West Indies. It was felt in various islands, but it appears to have raged with peculiar violence in St. Jan. Of the Brethren's two settlements, Emmaus and Bethany, the latter was most exposed to its fury. It began in the evening, and before morning, the missionaries, and many white and black people, who had fled to them from the neighbourhood, could scarcely find shelter in

<sup>a</sup> Oldendorp's Geschichte, tom. ii. p. 664, 708, 714, 733, 754, 769, 772, 890, 892.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. tom. ii. p. 1029, 1031, 1037, 1046, 1054.



any of the buildings. About eight in the morning, the wind changed to the south, and all the negro houses were swept away in a moment. Shortly after, the church fell with a dreadful crash, and was broken into a thousand pieces. Beams, shingles, rafters, boards, were carried to a great distance in the air; and no person durst venture out of the house, but at the risk of his life. The seawater being driven by the violence of the wind upon the roof of the dwelling-house, ran in streams into the apartments. The whole building trembled, and cracked, and threatened every moment to bury the inhabitants in its ruins. Meanwhile, they were assisted by the negroes, in fastening the roof with ropes, and in nailing up the doors, windows, and every crevice; but they were at last quite overcome with fatigue and hunger, for they had only a loaf and a half to divide among twenty-six persons, while a little water, sweetened with molasses, was their only drink. In other parts of the island, the planters had their dwelling-houses, sugar works, stores, and other property destroyed. The thickest trees in the woods, were broken in the middle; the cassibi plantations were all torn up, and the garden crops totally laid waste. Numbers of vessels were wrecked on the coast, and many people lost their lives. At Emmaus, the other settlement of the Brethren, the church and dwelling-house were safe; all the other buildings were destroyed.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Period. Acc. vol. i. p. 229.



In January 1813, the congregations of the Brethren in St. Jan, consisted of the following numbers :

| <i>Settlements.</i> | <i>Baptized, &amp;c.</i> | <i>Communicants.</i> |
|---------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| Emmaus,.....        | 1006                     | 476                  |
| Bethany,.....       | 455                      | 201                  |
| Total,              | 1461                     | 677 <sup>d</sup>     |

The total number of Blacks on this island was estimated some years ago at 2000, <sup>e</sup> so that the members of the Brethren's congregations constitute nearly three-fourths of the whole negro population.

#### ARTICLE IV.

#### JAMAICA.

IN October 1754, Zechariah George Caries was sent to Jamaica, with two others of the Brethren as his assistants, in compliance with the request of some gentlemen who possessed considerable estates on that island. On their arrival the gentlemen who made the proposal, were at the expense of supporting them. They built a house for them on a spot of ground which they appropriated to the use of the mission, and they granted full liberty to their slaves to attend on their instructions. In consequence of this, the negroes flocked to the Brethren in such numbers, that within little more than a year after the commencement of the mission, they

<sup>d</sup> Period. Acc. vol. v. p. 368.

<sup>e</sup> Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. ii. p. 28.



amounted to about eight hundred. On the part of the White people, the missionaries scarcely met with any opposition; and even those few who were, at first, inclined to oppose them, had their prejudices removed, as soon as they heard them preach. They came, in considerable numbers, to hear the discourses of Caries, to the negroes; but, as this was often a hinderance to him, in speaking to the poor slaves, he began to preach to the White people separately; and there was ground to hope that he was instrumental in the conversion of several of them.<sup>a</sup>

Encouraged by these auspicious circumstances, several other Brethren were sent to the island; but these being of different sentiments from the first missionaries, and apprehending that many of the negroes had been too hastily baptized, introduced a system of greater strictness, and obliged the catechumens to wait longer for baptism. By this means, most of the negroes were so disheartened, that they drew back; and the harmony of the missionaries was so much interrupted, that they almost desisted from their labours.<sup>b</sup>

In 1764, Frederick Schlegel came from America to this island, and after his arrival the mission experienced a new revival. The Brethren engaged in it, being now united in their views with regard to the method of evangelizing the negroes, their labours began to be crowned with considerable success. Such of the slaves as had formerly been baptized returned to them; the number of their hearers was greatly augmented, and many of them appeared to

<sup>a</sup> Crantz's Hist. Breth. p. 430.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 482.



be much impressed by the word. On one plantation, where, in the beginning of 1767, the Brethren had scarcely a hundred hearers, the audience increased before the end of that year, to five hundred. Indeed, the number of negroes baptized in that and the following year, amounted to upwards of two hundred and fifty.<sup>c</sup>

In September 1770, died Frederick Schlegel, who had been the principal instrument of the revival of the mission on this island; and after his death it again sunk into a languishing state. The negroes, in general, became perfectly indifferent about instruction, and many of them relapsed into their old pagan practices. In some places the indifference to religion rose to such a height that the Brethren could obtain no hearers, and were obliged to give up the meetings. Nor was this confined to such as had been merely hearers: a great part of the baptized shewed little or no inclination to listen to the word. On one plantation where there were fifty baptized, scarcely five or six attended divine worship. Even on the Lord's day, the Brethren's congregation commonly consisted only of fifty or sixty, and never exceeded eighty or ninety.<sup>d</sup>

In October 1780, the island of Jamaica, in common with other parts of the West Indies, was visited with a tremendous hurricane. Numbers of ships were lost at sea; large districts of finely cultivated land were turned into a desert; and several villages were destroyed. In the parish of Westmoreland, the ravages of the storm were so terrible,

<sup>c</sup> Crantz's Hist. Breth. p. 598.

<sup>d</sup> Fortsetzung Bruder Hist. tom. i. p. 104, 274; tom. ii. p. 301.



that for the space of twenty miles, scarcely a house was left standing. On the plantation of Mesopotamia, the house and chapel of the Brethren, and most of the other buildings were shattered or thrown to the ground. At Savannah-la-mer, which was only a few miles distant, the sea rose in a column, appearing at a distance like a dark cloud, and overwhelmed the town. While many people were viewing this singular phenomenon from their windows, the waves rushed suddenly upon them, and washed away both them and their houses. The sea overflowed the land above half a mile beyond its ordinary bounds, and carried with it several large ships, one of which, when the water subsided, was left near a quarter of a mile on shore.<sup>e</sup>

In 1804, fifty years from the commencement of the mission, the whole number of negroes baptized by the Brethren on this island, amounted only to nine hundred and thirty-eight, and, even of these, many had afterwards fallen away. Of late, indeed, some of the principal planters had undertaken to provide for the support of more missionaries; and within these few years, the prospects of the mission have become considerably brighter. Though the Brethren cannot yet boast of any very extensive success, yet they have had the pleasure of seeing their congregations greatly augmented, and of admitting to baptism a larger number of negroes than ordinary.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>e</sup> Fortsetzung Bruder Hist. tom. i. p. 279.—Moseley on Tropical Diseases, p. 12.

<sup>f</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 441; vol. vi. p. 251; vol. vii. p. xv. 64.



In 1821, the Brethren had three settlements on this island, Carmel, Eden, and Irvine, besides preaching places on a number of other plantations. But though the aspect of the mission had of late materially improved, the whole number of the baptized did not exceed five or six hundred. In Jamaica there were some years ago no fewer than 319,912 slaves, besides several thousand free blacks, and people of colour, so that the success of the Brethren on this island, compared with the amount of the population, has been exceedingly small.<sup>s</sup>

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ARTICLE V.

ANTIGUA.

IN January 1756, Samuel Isles, one of the missionaries in St. Thomas, proceeded to Antigua with the view of beginning a mission on that island. Here he had at first many difficulties to encounter. He held no public meetings with the negroes, but was obliged to be satisfied with instructing individuals in private. He and his wife were attacked with sickness soon after their arrival, and they were at the same time in want of the necessaries of life; but yet they were not discouraged, trusting that though “they sowed in tears, they would reap in joy.”<sup>a</sup>

For some years the labours of the Brethren on this island were accompanied with little success. Few

<sup>s</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. viii. p. iv. 79.—Edin. Encyclop. vol. ii. p. 608.

<sup>a</sup> Oldendorp's Geschichte, tom. ii. p. 809.



of the negroes attended on their ministrations ; and what was extremely discouraging, most of those whom they baptized, were removed to other islands, and thus were deprived of the means of further instruction. But dark as were the prospects of the missionaries for many years, the cloud was at length dispelled, and ushered in a glorious morning. <sup>b</sup>

In 1770, the number of the Brethren's hearers began to increase, and, in a short time, they became so considerable that it was necessary to enlarge the chapel. It was pleasing to witness on this occasion the zeal of the negroes. On coming to the evening meeting every one brought a stone with him : one of the baptized who was a builder conducted the mason work : others who were carpenters performed at their spare hours the wood work ; and the rest supplied them with provisions. But as the congregation still rapidly increased, it became necessary within little more than a twelvemonth to erect a new church, when the poor slaves displayed the same zeal as they had manifested in the enlargement of the old. <sup>c</sup>

Besides holding regular meetings with the negroes in their own neighbourhood, the Brethren visited a number of plantations in different parts of the island with the view of instructing those at a distance. Many of the planters were now so convinced of the salutary effects of their labours, that they provided on their estates the accommodations necessary for holding meetings with their slaves. Numbers of the overseers found by ex-

<sup>b</sup> Crantz's Hist. Breth. p. 601.

<sup>c</sup> Fortsetzung Bruder Hist. tom. i. p. 106, 108.



perience, that the reproofs of the Brethren had a more powerful effect on the converts than the severest corporal punishment; and therefore, when any of them committed an offence, they frequently sent them to the missionaries, instead of subjecting them to the lash, which a Christian negro would much rather have suffered than encounter the rebuke of his teacher.<sup>d</sup>

Such sentiments, however, were not universal in Antigua. Still there was a number of the planters who were hostile to the labours of the Brethren, and not only prohibited their negroes from attending on their instruction, but punished those who did, in the severest manner. Such were often beaten, and flogged, and put in the stocks, as if to hear the gospel had been an aggravated crime. One day, a negro was on this account, not only cruelly treated by some White people, but was compelled to give his own wife fifty lashes because she had sought to him for protection from the violence of some person in the town. On another occasion, an aged negro woman, under the pretence that one of her family had been guilty of theft, but, in fact, from enmity to the gospel, was put in irons and flogged most unmercifully: On the following day she was chained to two negroes, as she was unable to walk, and dragged to the field to work, but died by the way.<sup>e</sup>

Violent, however, as was the opposition which the Brethren experienced from various quarters, yet such was the triumph of Christian principle, as mani-

<sup>d</sup> Fortsetzung Bruder Hist. tom. ii. p. 279. <sup>e</sup> Ibid. tom. ii. p. 28.



fested in the modest, meek, and gentle manners of the missionaries, and in the improved morals of the converts, that after some years, a complete revolution took place in the public sentiment in this island. It even became fashionable to applaud the humble Moravians whom it was once common to despise. This proved, at length, the most flourishing of all the Brethren's missions among the heathen: the slaves attended on their instructions by thousands, and vast numbers of them were admitted by baptism into the bosom of the church.<sup>f</sup>

In April 1803, the number of negroes, including adults and children, who had been baptized by the Brethren since the commencement of their labours on this island, amounted to 13,287. During the first seventeen years of the mission, only 295 were baptized: within the last ten years there were no fewer than 5,424.<sup>g</sup> Though the number of converts does not appear to have been in an equal proportion since that period, it is probable the whole may now be estimated at near twenty thousand.

In 1817, the Brethren began to erect a fourth settlement on this island, in consequence of the urgent request of the Colonial government, which made them a grant of ten acres of land for this new establishment, £1000 currency to assist in erecting a chapel and dwelling-houses, and £300 a year for the support of the missionaries. The proprietors of the neighbouring estates, who were extremely anxious that their negroes should enjoy the instructions of the Brethren, likewise assisted

<sup>f</sup> Fortsetzung Bruder Hist. tom. ii. p. 285; tom. iii. p. 396.

<sup>g</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 360; vol. iii. p. 223.



them in the most liberal manner in the erection of the necessary buildings.<sup>h</sup>

In January 1820, the number of the baptized in the Brethren's congregations on this island was as follows :

| Begun. | Settlements.     | Adults. | Children. | Total.             |
|--------|------------------|---------|-----------|--------------------|
| 1761   | St. John's,..... | 3,469   | 1001      | 4,470              |
| 1774   | Gracehill,.....  | 1,480   | 474       | 1,954              |
| 1797   | Gracebay,.....   | 851     | 288       | 1,139              |
| 1817   | Newfield,.....   | 91      | 15        | 106                |
| Total, |                  | 5,891   | 1,778     | 7,669 <sup>i</sup> |

The number of slaves in Antigua, amounted some years ago to 37,808;<sup>k</sup> so that, according to this statement, the members of the Brethren's congregations constituted upwards of one-fifth of the whole negro population.\*

#### ARTICLE VI.

#### BARBADOES.

IN 1765, two of the Brethren went to Barbadoes with the view of beginning a mission on that island. One of them, however, died immediately after his arrival; and another, who was sent to

<sup>h</sup> Holmes' Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren, p. 365.—Evan. Mag. vol. xxvi. p. 220.—Period. Accounts, vol. vi. p. 431; vol. vii. p. xxi. 67.

<sup>i</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. vii. p. 219.

<sup>k</sup> Edwards' History of the West Indies, vol. i. p. 485.

\* Though the United Brethren need the testimony of no man to the importance and utility of their labours; yet as the authority of Bryan Edwards, Esq. the Historian of the British West



supply his place, followed him soon after to the grave; while the only one who survived unhappily imbibed the love of the world, and neglected the chief design of his residence on the island.

In May 1767, the mission to Barbadoes was renewed by the arrival of Benjamin Bruckshaw, who

Indies, who was himself a planter, may have some influence with many persons who are prejudiced against missionary exertions in general, we shall here subjoin a short extract from the work of that writer: "It is very much," says he, "to the honour of the legislature of Antigua, that it presented to the sister islands the first example of amelioration of the criminal law respecting negro slaves, by giving the accused party the benefit of trial by jury, and allowing, in the case of capital convictions, four days between the time of sentence and execution. And it is still more to the honour of Antigua, that its inhabitants have encouraged, in a particular manner, the laudable endeavours of certain pious men, who have undertaken, from the purest and best motives, to enlighten the minds of the negroes, and lead them into the knowledge of religious truth. In the Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council on the slave trade, is an account of the labours of the Society known by the name of the *Unitas Fratrum*, commonly called Moravians, in this truly glorious pursuit; from which it appears, that their conduct in this business displays such sound judgment, breathes such a spirit of genuine Christianity, and has been attended with such eminent success, as to entitle its Brethren and missionaries to the most favourable reception from every man whom the accidents of fortune have invested with power over the poor Africans, and who believe (as I hope every planter believes) that they are his fellow creatures, and of equal importance with himself in the eyes of an all-seeing and impartial Governor of the universe."—*Edwards' History of the West Indies*, vol. i. p. 487. Fourth Edit. In the course of a debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Wilberforce stated, that he had repeatedly heard it said by Planters and other proprietors of slaves, that a negro was doubly valuable if he was a Moravian. *Debate, June, 19, 1816.*



was soon after joined by others of the Brethren. Having met with a very favourable reception from some of the principal people in the island, they lost no time in commencing their labours among the negroes. In a short time, their house became too small for the numbers who attended on their instructions: They, therefore, purchased a building which had been burnt down, and fitted it up as a dwelling-house for themselves, and a place of worship for the negroes. Here they had soon the pleasure of baptizing a number of their swarthy hearers as the first-fruits of their labours.

With the view of diminishing the expenses of the undertaking, some of the Brethren worked at their trades, and as they were obliged on this account to travel through the island, they found this method of gaining their livelihood greatly conducive to the grand object of the mission, as it afforded them an opportunity, in almost every place, of speaking with the negroes on the subject of religion.<sup>a</sup>

Such was the promising aspect of the mission immediately after its commencement; but it was not long before this pleasing prospect was completely overclouded. Most of the negroes, it appeared, had attended on the ministrations of the Brethren merely from curiosity, and as a natural consequence of this, they in a short time gave over coming. Even the circumstance of some of the Brethren working at their trades, which seemed to be attended with great advantages, was productive of many inconveniences. Being obliged to give credit in order to gain employment, they had after-

<sup>a</sup> Crantz's Hist. Breth. p. 602.



wards much difficulty in collecting their debts, and even sustained material losses. In consequence of the death or removal of several of the Brethren, the instruction of the negroes was not prosecuted with due vigour, nor was that care taken of the few converts which the circumstances of their situation required. Besides, there arose among the missionaries themselves, some unhappy dissensions which could not fail to have a prejudicial influence upon their labours.<sup>b</sup>

In October 1780, there was a dreadful hurricane in the West Indies, the disastrous effects of which, were particularly felt in Barbadoes. No description can equal the devastation which it committed over the whole island. The most luxuriant spring was in one night changed into the dreariest winter; the plantations were laid waste; the trees were torn up by the roots; most of the buildings were levelled with the ground; scarcely a house on the island was exempt from damage. Some thousands of the inhabitants lost their lives: many were buried in the ruins of houses, others were driven into the sea by the violence of the storm and were drowned. Amidst the general calamity, the dwelling-houses and offices of the Brethren were totally demolished. In vain did they seek for shelter in other buildings; they also were seized by the hurricane and thrown to the ground. Having with great difficulty escaped being buried in the ruins, the missionaries were at length compelled to take refuge under the canopy of heaven, exposed to all the fury of the

<sup>b</sup> Crantz's Hist. Brethren, p. 604.—Fortsetzung Bruder Hist. tom. i. p. 117, 273.



storm, either sitting or lying on the earth. After the hurricane abated, they found, that not only their houses, but their stock of provisions, and their other property were almost entirely destroyed; and as the necessaries of life, and materials for building immediately rose to an enormous price, and could even scarcely be obtained for money, they had for sometime to struggle with great difficulties.<sup>c</sup>

In November 1798, James Waller, one of the Brethren, embarked with his wife for this island, on board a vessel from Bristol. After several fruitless attempts, they at last put to sea; but they were driven by contrary winds into Milford Haven. The wind, however, having shifted, they sailed again the following day; but were overtaken by so violent a storm, that the ship became perfectly unmanageable; and, after driving about at the mercy of the waves for some time, struck on a rock near the harbour of Kinsale, in Ireland. From three o'clock till seven in the evening, there appeared nothing before them but a watery grave; but as they were only about two hundred yards from land, the ebbing of the tide shewed them the possibility of escaping to shore. No sooner, however, had they made this discovery, than a gang of robbers, with more than savage ferocity, rushed upon them with knives and hatchets, and fell to plundering them and the wreck, and even threatened the lives of all on board. In a short time, however, a party of soldiers approached, and commenced a firing on the barbarous villains, four or five of whom were

<sup>c</sup> Dodsley's Annual Register, vol. xxiii. p. 295; vol. xxiv. p. 30.— Fortsetzung Bruder Hist. tom. i. p. 280.



killed in the fray. The passengers happily effected their escape ashore ; but the ship was entirely lost.<sup>d</sup>

In November 1817, the congregation of the Brethren in Barbadoes consisted of 214 members, of whom 68 were communicants. Indeed, from the commencement of the mission to the period now mentioned, the whole number baptized by them, amounted only to 330 adults and 150 children, making in all 480 persons, a very small proportion when we consider that the slave population amounted some years ago to 62,115. On the part of the planters, the mission on this island has met with little or no encouragement, a circumstance which will account, at least in part, for the small success with which it has been attended.<sup>e</sup>

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#### ARTICLE VII.

#### ST. CHRISTOPHERS.

In June 1777, two of the Brethren, John Daniel Gottwald and James Birkby, arrived in St. Christophers, with the view of establishing a mission on that island. Having hired a house near the town of Basseterre, they began to preach the gospel to the negroes ; but for some years, their labours were attended with little success. In August 1787, ten years from the commencement of the mission, only about fifty adults had been baptized ; besides whom,

<sup>d</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 247.—Methodist Magazine, vol. xlii. p. 429.

<sup>e</sup> Period Accounts, vol. vi. p. 436.—Edwards' History of the West Indies, vol. i.—Fortsetzung Bruder Hist. tom. i. p. 292.



there were near thirty others who had previously been baptized, and were admitted as members. The whole congregation at this period consisted only of seventy-one adults, of whom forty-three were communicants.<sup>a</sup>

In May 1789, the Brethren began to erect a church for the accommodation of the negroes, who had hitherto assembled in an apartment of their own house. On this occasion, the negroes not only brought stones for the building and wrought at it as far as they were able; but notwithstanding their extreme poverty they contributed something to the general expense; and a subscription was even sent for the same purpose by the negroes of Antigua. No sooner was the chapel completed than it was filled with a numerous and attentive audience; in the course of a few months it was even too small for the ordinary congregation. The whole of the slaves from different plantations attended; but there was room for them only on the week day evenings: on the sabbath, many were obliged to stand without in the court or in the burial ground.<sup>b</sup>

In January 1821, the congregation of the Brethren on this island consisted of 2,774 members; so that this mission, which for many years was so unpromising, may now be considered as one of the most flourishing of their settlements among the heathen. From the commencement of the mission, to the period now mentioned, the whole number who had been baptized or received by them, amounted to about 5,370, of whom 3,694 were adults; the

<sup>a</sup> Fortsetzung Bruder Hist. tom. i. p. 269; tom. ii. p. 289.

<sup>b</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 17.—Fortsetzung Bruder Hist. tom. ii. p. 291; tom. iii, p. 375.



other 1676 were children: About three hundred had been excluded from the congregation on account of their unchristian walk, and relapsing into their old sinful practices; but even this will appear a small number, if we consider the many and powerful temptations to which persons are exposed, particularly slaves, in the pestilential moral atmosphere of a West India island.<sup>c</sup>

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ARTICLE VIII.

TOBAGO.

IN August 1789, John Montgomery, one of the Brethren in Barbadoes, proceeded to Tobago with the view of commencing a mission on that island. Several of the planters encouraged the proposal, and ordered their slaves to attend on his instructions; but though they came at first in considerable numbers, it was merely in obedience to the command of their masters, and in a short time, they as with one accord, ceased attending. His wife, at length sickened and died: he himself was now attacked with a violent dysentery, and returned to Barbadoes, where he soon after closed his days.<sup>a</sup>

In November 1798, Charles F. W. Shirmer sailed from England for Tobago with the view of renewing the mission on this island; and on his arrival, he met with a very favourable reception from a number of the planters. Encouraged by their masters, the

<sup>c</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. vi. p. 433, 435; vol. vii. 217; vol. viii. p. iii.      <sup>a</sup> Ibid. vol. i. p. 67.



negroes attended in great numbers on his instructions ; and, in the course of a few months, he had the pleasure of baptizing several of them. Afterwards, however, when some of the chief planters, who supported the mission, died or left the island, the negroes in general grew more remiss in their attendance on divine worship ; and it appeared that many of them would be perfectly satisfied, if they could only obtain baptism and the name of Christians. To this, however, there were happily some exceptions.<sup>b</sup>

In 1801, the Brethren, as well as the other White inhabitants of Tobago, were much alarmed by a conspiracy among the negroes on many of the plantations, to murder all the White people on the island, and also every Mulatto and free negro who would not join their party. The firing of the gun on Christmas-eve was fixed on as the signal for the general massacre ; but providentially the plot was discovered, and the execution of it prevented by the vigilant exertions of the government. It is worthy of notice, that none of the negroes under the care of the Brethren were concerned in this conspiracy.<sup>c</sup>

After sometime, however, a combination of unfavourable circumstances rendered it necessary to abandon the mission to Tobago. Between fifty and sixty negroes were baptized by the Brethren during their residence on this island.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 44.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. vol. iii. p. 95.

<sup>d</sup> Holmes' Sketches, p. 465.



## SECTION III.

## NORTH AMERICA.

IN November 1734, a number of the United Brethren proceeded to North America, and settled in Georgia, with a particular view to the introduction of Christianity among some of the neighbouring tribes of Indians. Soon after their arrival, they began to preach the gospel to the Creek nation, many of whom lived on an island called Irene, about five miles above the town of Savannah; and they likewise established a school for the education of their children. The prosperity of this little colony, however, was of short duration. The neighbouring Spaniards having endeavoured to expel the English from the country, the Brethren were called upon to take up arms against the enemy; and though, on representing the declaration which they had made to the trustees of Georgia before they left Europe, that they would on no account carry arms, they were exempted from all personal interference in the war; yet, as many of the other inhabitants were dissatisfied on that account, and as an application of the same kind was again made to them, on the renewal of the dispute, they left their flourishing plantations, and retired into Pennsylvania, where they were allowed to live in peace.<sup>a</sup>

Meanwhile, the Rev. Mr. Spangenberg, who had accompanied the colony to Georgia, returned to

<sup>a</sup> Loskiel's History of the Mission of the United Brethren in North America, Part II. p. 2.



Germany ; and the picture which he drew of the deplorable condition of the savages made so deep an impression on many of the Brethren, that several of them offered to go and preach the gospel to them, even though it should be at the expense of their life.

In 1739, Christian Henry Rauch was sent to New York to commence a mission among some of the neighbouring tribes. Shortly after his arrival he heard that an embassy of Indians had come to that city, to treat with government. He accordingly went in search of them, and though they were much intoxicated when he first found them, yet he waited till they were sober, and then asked two of them, named Tschoop and Shabash, Whether they would not like a teacher to settle among them, and instruct them in the way to heaven? As they readily agreed to this proposal, he proceeded to Shekomeko, the place of their residence, a town about twenty-five miles to the eastward of North River.

On his arrival at this place, Rauch was received by the Indians with much kindness ; but when he spoke to them next day on the subject of religion, they derided his instructions, and laughed him to scorn. Not discouraged, however, by their rude behaviour, he was indefatigable in visiting them daily in their huts ; he also travelled to the neighbouring towns, though, as he had neither the means to keep a horse, nor money to hire a boat, he often suffered extremely from heat and fatigue in the woods ; and even on his arrival, he was often refused admission into their houses. But he soon forgot all his trials, when he began to observe some



favourable symptoms in the two Indians, to whom he had originally made the proposal. Though among the most abandoned of the whole tribe, their eyes now overflowed with tears, whenever he described to them the sufferings and death of our Redeemer. They often lamented their former blindness in worshipping idols, and their ignorance of the true God, who loved them so much, that he sent his Son to die for them.

Scarcely, however, had he begun to see the fruit of his labours, when some White people in the neighbourhood took the alarm, and endeavoured to thwart his further usefulness. Apprehensive, that if the Indians embraced Christianity, it would prove injurious to their interests, by promoting sobriety among them, they laboured to rouse the indignation of the savages against their teacher, by spreading the basest reports concerning him, particularly that he intended to seize their young people, carry them beyond the sea, and sell them for slaves. As the Indians are extremely tenacious of their personal liberty, nothing was better calculated to excite their jealousy than such a rumour, especially as they had too often experienced the baseness and fraudulence of the White people. Irritated to a high degree by these reports, the savages threatened to shoot him, unless he left the place without delay. He therefore thought it prudent to withdraw for a season, and took shelter with a farmer in the neighbourhood. Still, however, he daily visited the Indians at Shekomeko though often at the risk of his life. Several of the White people sought occasion to beat and abuse him, but this, he was careful not to afford them,



uniformly conducting himself in the mildest and most inoffensive manner. Some threatened to hang him up in the woods; others endeavoured to intoxicate the savages, in the hope they might murder him in a drunken frolic. An Indian once ran after him with his hatchet, and would certainly have killed him, had he not accidentally stumbled and fallen into the water. Even Tschoop, who had manifested some concern about his soul, was so incensed against him, that he sought an opportunity of shooting him; and Shabash, though he did not threaten his life, was always careful to avoid his company. Rauch, however, was not dismayed by these various difficulties and dangers, but persisted in his labours with unshaken courage and unremitting zeal, in the hope they would at length be crowned with success.<sup>b</sup>

By degrees, the Indians began to admire his patience, perseverance, and courage, combined, as they were with so much meekness, gentleness, and humility. He often spent half a day in their huts, ate and drank with them in a friendly manner, and even lay down to sleep in the midst of them with the utmost composure. This circumstance made a deep impression on the minds of the Indians, particularly on Tschoop. One day when Rauch was lying in his hut, fast asleep, he was struck at the sight, and thought with himself: "This cannot be a bad man: He fears no evil, not even from us who are so savage. Here he sleeps comfortably, and places his life in our hands." On further reflection, he was convinced that the reports circulated by the

<sup>b</sup> Loskiel, Part II. p. 7.



White people concerning him, were entirely without foundation, and proceeded purely from their own wickedness and malice. He now endeavoured to persuade his countrymen of the missionary's innocence; and notwithstanding their violent jealousy, he succeeded in removing their prejudices, and re-establishing confidence between them.

Having now regained the friendship of the Indians, Rauch had soon the pleasure of witnessing the fruit of his labours among them. Several of them were much impressed with the love of Christ to sinners, as displayed in his sufferings and death. The change which took place on Tschoop, in particular, was remarkably striking. Formerly he was the greatest drunkard in the whole town, and had rendered himself a cripple by his debaucheries. Now, the drunkard had learned to be sober, and the man who was savage as a bear had become gentle as a lamb. He afterwards gave the Brethren the following simple, yet interesting account of his conversion: "I," said he, "have been a Heathen, and have grown old among the Heathen; therefore I know how the Heathen think. Once a preacher came, and began to tell us that there was a God. We answered him saying, 'Dost thou think us so ignorant as not to know that? Go back to the place from whence thou camest.' Then another preacher came to us, and began to say: 'You must not steal, nor lie, nor get drunk.' To him we answered: 'Thou fool, dost thou think we do not know that? Go learn first thyself, and then teach thy own people to leave off these practices. For who are greater drunkards, or thieves, or liars than thine own people?' Thus we dismissed him. After some



time, Brother Rauch came into my hut, and sat down by me. He then spoke to me as follows: 'I am come to you in the name of the Lord of heaven and earth. He sends to inform you that he will make you happy, and deliver you from that misery in which you at present lie. For this purpose he became a man, gave his life a ransom, and shed his blood for us.' When he had finished his discourse, he lay down upon a board fatigued by his journey, and fell sound asleep. I then thought with myself, 'What kind of a man is this? There he sleeps. I might kill him, and throw him out into the woods; and who would regard it? But this gives him no care or concern.' At the same time, I could not forget his words. They constantly recurred to my mind: Even when I slept, I dreamed of that blood which Christ shed for us. I found this to be something different from what I had ever heard before; and I interpreted Christian Henry's words to the other Indians. Thus, through the grace of God, an awakening began among us. I say therefore, Brethren, preach Christ, our Saviour, and his sufferings and death, if you would have your words to gain entrance among the Heathen."

In the spring of 1742, several of the Indians were baptized, among whom were Tschoop and Shabash. The gospel now made rapid progress, not only in Shekomeko, but in some of the neighbouring towns, particularly Pachpatgoch, and Wechquatnach. It was truly delightful to behold the Indians coming from distant places to hear the new preacher, who, as they expressed it, spoke of God

<sup>c</sup> Loskiel, Part II. p. 13.—Spangenberg's Account, p. 62.



who became man, and loved the Indians so much, that he gave his life to save them from the devil and the service of sin. The doctrine of the atonement, as preached by the missionary, and confirmed by the converts, so touched and melted the hearts of the savages, that the fields seemed, as it were, "white for the harvest." <sup>d</sup>

Encouraged by the prospect of success, several of the Brethren now joined Rauch in his labours; and it was not long before they discovered themselves to be men of the same stamp, endowed with a like zeal, and possessed of a similar disinterested spirit. Such was their humility, that they earned their livelihood chiefly by working for the Indians; though the savages, as may easily be conceived, were able to pay them but little for their labour: They lived and dressed in the Indian manner; so that in travelling through the country, they were often taken for natives. They now extended their labours to some of the neighbouring towns; and, though they were by no means without their trials, yet, in general, they met with a kind reception from the people. Some Brethren who resided at Bethlehem, a settlement they had lately formed in Pennsylvania, and others who came merely on a visit to North America, among whom was Count Zinzendorf himself, likewise made journies among the Indians in various parts of the country, and preached the gospel to them; and though this was not productive of any immediate good effects, yet the kindness with which they uniformly treated the savages, made a strong impression on their minds, and prepared them for the reception of the gospel. <sup>e</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Loskiel, Part II. p. 19.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. Part II. p. 24, 45, 51.



Meanwhile the Indian congregation at Shekomeko continued to flourish and increase. When some of the converts were admitted for the first time, to the Lord's Supper, there was a most delightful season among them. "During the meeting for adoration and praise," says one of the Brethren, "we were overcome with weeping; and whilst I live I shall never forget the impression which this first communion with the North American Indians made upon me." On another occasion of the same kind, many of the converts declared that they thought a person never could have felt so happy in this world; the pleasure they enjoyed was beyond description. About this time, the congregation made a number of statutes for the regulation of their affairs; and in order that these laws might be strictly executed, they chose Cornelius, one of the converts who had formerly been a captain among the savages, to be the overseer, an office which he exercised with great faithfulness, and to the general satisfaction of his countrymen. One day, however, after the administration of the Lord's Supper, he came and begged to be dismissed from that post, alleging that he had felt such happiness during the sacrament, that he resolved to retire from all public business, and to devote his whole time to uninterrupted communion with the Saviour. He was easily persuaded, indeed, to retain his office until one should be found to succeed him; but it was on this condition that he should no longer be styled Captain, "for," said he, "I am the least among my brethren." On many occasions, the remarks which the converts made were simple yet striking. A trader having endeavoured to persuade Shabash



that the Brethren were not privileged teachers, the Indian sagely replied: "It may be so; but I know what they have told me, and what God has wrought within me. Look at my poor countrymen there, lying drunk before your door. Why do you not send privileged teachers to convert them? Four years ago I also lived like a beast, and not one of you troubled himself about me. But when the Brethren came, they preached the cross of Christ, and I have experienced the power of his blood, so that sin has no longer dominion over me. Such are the teachers we want." <sup>f</sup>

In the spring of 1744, a most violent and unmerited persecution was begun against the Brethren, by some White people in the neighbourhood. These miscreants had never ceased to employ every mean in their power to thwart the labours of the missionaries, and to seduce the Indians from them, not only by circulating the basest and most unfounded reports, but by trying to promote intoxication and other crimes among them. Having failed in poisoning the minds of the Indians by these insidious arts, they now endeavoured to rouse the fears of their own countrymen, by representing the Brethren as in league with the French in Canada, and as employed to furnish the savages with arms to fight and murder the English. This report they spread far and wide; and asserted it with so much confidence, that the whole country at last believed it, and were struck with terror, and inflamed with rage. The inhabitants of Sharon, a neighbouring town, remained under arms for a whole week to-

<sup>f</sup> Loskiel, Part II. p. 46, 55.



gether, and some even forsook their plantations. The missionaries were now, with singular consistency, called upon to serve in the militia ; but they represented, that, as ministers of the gospel, they ought to be exempted from military service ; and, accordingly, after a variety of vexatious proceedings against them, this claim appears to have been relinquished. They were afterwards, however, dragged from court to court, and even before the governor of New York ; but notwithstanding the violence of their enemies, they were honourably acquitted, many of the people, and even some of the most distinguished magistrates, candidly acknowledging the purity of their intentions, and the utility of their labours. Being thus baffled in these various attempts, their adversaries now changed their mode of attack. Knowing the aversion of many of the Brethren to the taking of oaths, they procured an act of assembly, ordaining that all suspicious persons should take the oath of allegiance, or be expelled from the province ; and they had even the influence to procure another act, expressly prohibiting the missionaries from instructing the Indians, under the old pretence that they were in league with the French, and forbidding them under a heavy penalty, to appear again among them, without having first taken the oath required. Being, in this manner, obliged to leave the province of New York, the missionaries retired to Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania. The grief they felt at parting with their beloved congregation is beyond description ; but they resolved to wait with patience, till God should manifest their innocence, and dispel the storm. The Indians, in the mean-



while, continued to keep up their usual meetings; and some of the Brethren occasionally went from Bethlehem, and held conferences with them, though at the risk of persecution to themselves. Two of them, Frederic Post, and David Zeisberger, a man of whom we shall often have occasion to make honourable mention, when on a journey to the Iroquois Indians, or, as they are commonly called, the Six Nations, were unexpectedly arrested at Albany, and after suffering many indignities, were carried to New York, and imprisoned for seven weeks.<sup>s</sup>

But though a mutual intercourse was kept up between Shekomeko and Bethlehem, it was evident, that the suspension of the regular services of the missionaries could not fail to be ultimately injurious to the interests of the congregation. The Brethren, therefore, proposed, that the Indians should remove from the province of New York, and settle upon some eligible spot in Pennsylvania; and, in order that no difficulty might remain on the part of the Iroquois, to whom that part of the country belonged, which they had ultimately in view, they sent an embassy to the great council at Onondago, to ask permission for the congregation to take up their residence upon it. To this proposal, the Iroquois readily agreed; but, contrary to all expectation, the Indians at Shekomeko refused to accede to it. They alleged, that the governor of New York had particularly commanded them to remain in their own town, and had promised them his protection; that, on this account, they could not leave the country, without giving rise to further

<sup>s</sup> Loskiel, Part II. p. 57, 63, 69.



suspicion, and exposing the missionaries to new persecution ; and that if they should emigrate, their unbaptized friends and relations would still remain in the town, and probably return to their old sinful courses, a circumstance which would give them the greatest uneasiness.

It was not long, however, before a circumstance occurred, which obliged the congregation to follow the advice of the Brethren ; for the White people came to a resolution to drive the Christian Indians from Shekomeko, under the pretence that the ground on which the town was built did not belong to them, and that the rightful owners would soon come and take possession of it. They accordingly seized upon the land, and appointed a watch to prevent the visits of the Brethren from Bethlehem. Besides, it was reported, that a thousand French troops were on their march to the province, and that the Indians of Shekomeko were to unite with them, and then to ravage the country with fire and sword. This rumour excited such rage and terror among the White people, particularly at Reinbeck, that the inhabitants of that town demanded a warrant from a magistrate, to go and kill all the Indians at Shekomeko. The warrant, indeed, was not granted ; but yet the oppression of these poor unoffending creatures arose, at length, to such a height, that though they were strongly attached to their own village, a number of them left it and came to Bethlehem, where they erected some temporary habitations for themselves and their families.

As, however, it was soon found that an Indian town could not be conveniently supported so near to Bethlehem, the Brethren purchased a piece of



land about thirty miles from that place, near the junction of the rivers Mahony and Lecha, where they might build, plant, and live in their own way. Having here marked out a new town, which they called Gnadenhuetten, or *Tents of Grace*, numbers of the Indians immediately repaired thither, and began to clear the land and to build themselves houses. When the news of this settlement reached Shekomeko, many of the Christian converts, who still remained in that place, resolved to leave it; but their enemies, though determined to expel them from the town, having seen, with regret, that all the others had emigrated to the Brethren, now endeavoured to frighten the remainder from going to them, by circulating a false and malicious report, that the last party had been attacked and murdered on the road. The Indians, however, who were then preparing for the journey, disregarded the rumour, and set forward without fear. The emigration of the converts was attended by other embarrassing circumstances. Many of them were drowned in debt, contracted by them in their unconverted state, and increased not a little by the base impositions of their creditors. As soon, therefore, as a family proposed to remove, the traders brought in bills against them, demanded immediate payment, and threatened to cast them into prison. The converts not being able to pay their debts, and not being willing to run away, had no resource but to apply to the congregation at Bethlehem to assist them, who accordingly did it with the greatest readiness. The settling of the Indians at Gnadenhuetten was, in other respects, attended with no small trouble and expense. As the land was covered with trees and



shrubs, it required to be cleared and planted. The Brethren joined the Indians in these operations, and had their meals in common with them; but as the converts were unacquainted with husbandry, and unable to bear much fatigue, the missionaries had the heaviest part of the work which they cheerfully performed, considering it as done in the service of Christ.<sup>b</sup>

Meanwhile, the situation of the Christian converts, who remained at Shekomeko and the neighbouring towns, became every day more embarrassing. The French Indians having made an inroad into the neighbouring country, setting fire to the houses, and murdering the inhabitants, the English called upon all who were able to carry arms, to rise in their own defence. This message being sent to the Christian Indians, as well as others, several of them joined the army, while the rest lived in a state of perpetual apprehension and alarm. By this means, however, some of them were convinced of their error, in neglecting the advice of the Brethren; and several of them sent very penitential letters to the congregation. "I am like a child," said one, "whose father loves him dearly, clothes him, and gives him all he stands in need of. Afterwards, the child becomes refractory, deserts his parents, and despises his counsel. At length, through folly, he loses all the good things he possessed; his clothes become ragged; nakedness and want follow. Then remembering how well he fared, he weeps night and day, yet scarcely presumes to return. This is precisely my situation." Such is a specimen of the

<sup>b</sup> Loskiel, Part II. p. 78, 82.



figurative language in which the Indians clothed their penitential expressions of sorrow. But there were others who suffered themselves to be prejudiced against the missionaries; many disorderly proceedings took place among them, and years elapsed before they returned to the congregation of the faithful.<sup>i</sup>

The temporal support of the Indian congregation at Gnadenhuetten, was a principal object of the care and attention of the Brethren. It was a striking and interesting proof of the influence of religion upon the converts, that they laboured diligently at their work, and planted the fields allotted to each of their families. But as, owing to the increase of their numbers, the land was not large enough for them, the Brethren bought a neighbouring plantation for their use, a circumstance which afforded them much satisfaction. Besides, a saw-mill was erected in the settlement, and many of them had an opportunity of earning a little money, by cutting timber, and conveying it to Bethlehem in floats, down the river Lecha. Hunting, however, continued to be their chief support, and from fifteen to twenty deers or bears were frequently shot in a day. When provisions were scarce, they gathered wild honey, chesnuts, and bilberries, in the woods.

Still, however, a constant supply of provisions was required from Bethlehem; for the congregation at Gnadenhuetten were frequently visited by companies of Indians belonging to various tribes, whom they not only received with kindness, but

<sup>i</sup> Loskiel, Part II. p. 86, 88.



entertained free of expense, rejoicing that by this means, their Pagan countrymen had an opportunity of hearing the gospel. In the course of these visits, nothing made so deep an impression on the savages, as the peace and harmony which prevailed among the Christian Indians, and the patience and resignation they displayed in the midst of trouble, circumstances so diametrically opposite to their national character. These visits of the savages were also very agreeable to the missionaries, as they hoped some of them might, by this means, be brought to the knowledge of Christ; but, in some instances, they were extremely troublesome, by their wild disorderly conduct. It was, therefore, necessary to act with great circumspection in the treatment of them. By severity they might be deterred from repeating their visits; and yet disorder was not to be tolerated in the town, lest it should prove injurious to the Christian Indians, particularly to the young people. The Brethren, therefore, introduced some salutary regulations, with the view of preventing these different evils.<sup>k</sup>

Besides labouring with unwearied diligence at Gnadenhuetten, the missionaries and others of the Brethren made frequent journies among the Indians in other parts of the country; and in various instances attempted to establish settlements among them. The Iroquois were the principal object of their benevolent exertions. Some of the Brethren visited Shomokin, and various other places on the river Susquehannah; and though the Indians in that quarter were among the most savage, drunken,

<sup>k</sup> Loskiel, Part II. p. 104.



wretches in the whole country, yet, several of the missionaries took up their residence among them. This establishment was attended with great expense, as all the necessaries of life had to be sent to them from Bethlehem; and, indeed, the missionaries were not unfrequently in danger of their lives, from the violence of the savages, particularly, in their drunken fits.<sup>1</sup> Besides making frequent journies to Wajomick, and other places in the neighbourhood, the Brethren visited Onondago, the chief town of the Iroquois, and the seat of their great council, from whom they received permission for two of the missionaries to settle in that place, for the purpose of learning the language; and accordingly, when two of them went thither, they were received by the Indians with the utmost cordiality; but yet they often suffered much from want, and were obliged to hunt for their subsistence, or seek roots in the forest.<sup>m</sup> The Brethren likewise made various journies to Shekomeko, Patchpatgoch, and Wechquatnach, the scene of their early labours. In the first of these places, every thing was now destroyed except the burying ground; but there were still a number of the Indians, who had wandered from the paths of religion, some of whom they persuaded to return to the congregation. In the other two places, the Christian Indians were formed into a regular congregation, and had missionaries settled among them, and for several years proceeded in a very pleasing manner.<sup>n</sup> Meniolagomekah,

<sup>1</sup> Loskiel, Part II. p. 91, 101, 106, 148.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. Part II. p. 120, 140, 147, 155.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. Part II. p. 101, 113, 115, 181, 183.



a town about one day's journey from Bethlehem, was likewise often visited by the Brethren; a regular establishment of Christian Indians was formed at that place, and a missionary was settled among them.<sup>o</sup> So various and so extended were the labours of these excellent men.

In the meanwhile, the course of the Indian congregation at Gnadenhuetten, was peaceful, prosperous, and happy; but there at length arose a succession of troubles, of the most unpleasant kind, and which were followed by consequences of the most tragical nature.

In March 1753, an embassy of Nantikoks and Shawanose arrived at Bethlehem, with a proposal that the congregation should remove from Gnadenhuetten to Wajomick, in the Indian country. For this change, they assigned no particular reason; but it afterwards appeared, that they had secretly determined to join the French, in hostilities against the English; but that they wished, in the first instance, to provide a safe retreat for their countrymen, the Christian Indians, that so they might attack, the more easily, the White people in that part of the country. Most of the congregation, however, were averse to leave their present settlement, especially after they discovered the design of the proposal; but yet there was a party in favour of it, and, at last, upwards of eighty retired to Wajomick, and the neighbourhood. They had scarcely, however, left the town, when their loss was, in some degree made up, by the arrival of about fifty Christian Indians from Meniolagomekah,

<sup>o</sup> Loskiel, Part II. p. 116, 142.



who were ordered by the proprietor to leave that place.<sup>p</sup>

It was not long, however, before the tranquillity of the congregation at Gnadenhuetten was again disturbed. They were not only charged with a kind of tribute, as an acknowledgment of their dependance on the Iroquois; but a new message was sent to them to the following effect: "The Great Head, that is, the Council of the Iroquois in Onondago, speak the truth and lie not. They rejoice that some of the believing Indians have removed to Wajomick; but now they lift up the remaining Mohegans and Delawares, and set them down also in that place; for there a fire is kindled for them; there they may plant and think on God: but if they will not hearken, the Great Council will come and clear their ears with a red hot iron," meaning, that they would burn their houses, and shoot them with musket balls. This threatening, especially at first, was not entirely without effect. Some of the congregation thought it best to remove to Wajomick; others again refused to emigrate. It was discovered, indeed, that the plan of removing them did not originate in the great council of the Iroquois, but only with the Oneida tribe, and the warlike Delawares and Mohegans, who falsely ascribed it to the Six Nations in general. The Brethren used no authority with their people to make them remain in their present residence; but they employed the most gentle and affectionate representations, and that with so good an effect, that almost all of them resolved to stay. One of them

<sup>p</sup> Loskiel, Part II. p. 143, 149.



said: "What can the Chief Captain of the Six Nations give me in exchange for my soul? He does not consider how that will fare at last." "God," said another, "who made me and saved me, is able also to protect me. I am not afraid of the anger of men, for not a hair of my head can fall to the ground without his will."<sup>a</sup>

Hostilities having commenced between the French and the English, the Indian war at length began. The whole country was now involved in disorder and bloodshed: Every day disclosed new atrocities committed by the savages. The inhabitants of the country knew not what to do, nor whither to go. Some fled to the east; some to the west; some sought safety in places which others had just forsaken. The Christian Indians at Gnadenhuetten being considered as the friends of the British government, were in the most imminent danger of being destroyed by the French Indians; and as the most dreadful reports were daily multiplying from all quarters, some were so much intimidated that they took refuge in the woods. But the greater part of the congregation remained in the town, and the missionaries resolved to stand by their post, notwithstanding the dangers to which they were exposed. This, however, was a fatal resolution, and in a short time was followed by the most tragical consequences.<sup>r</sup>

In November 1755, a party of French Indians arrived in the neighbourhood of Gnadenhuetten, and attacked the house of the missionaries. As the family were sitting at supper, they heard an un-

<sup>a</sup> Loskiel, Part II. p. 157.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. Part II. p. 164.



common barking of dogs, upon which Gottlob Senseman, one of the Brethren, went out at the back door to see what was the matter. On hearing the report of a gun, several others ran to open the house door. Here stood a number of Indians, with their pieces pointed to it, and no sooner was it opened than they instantly fired and killed Martin Nitschman on the spot. His wife and some others, were wounded, but they flew up stairs to the garret with the utmost precipitation, and barricadoed the door with bedsteads. Partsch, one of the Brethren, jumped out at a back window; another of them named Worbas, who was lying ill in bed in an adjoining house, escaped in a similar manner, though the enemy had placed a guard at his door. Meanwhile the savages pursued those who had taken refuge in the garret, and endeavoured to burst open the door; but being baffled in the attempt, they set the house on fire. A boy named Joseph Sturges, having got on the flaming roof, leapt down and made his escape; though, on the opening of the back door, a ball had grazed his cheek, and one side of his head was severely burnt. Encouraged by this, the wife of the missionary Partsch, followed his example, and having come down unhurt, fled unobserved by the enemy, and hid herself behind a tree, upon a hill, near the house. Christian Fabricius, one of the Brethren, was the next who made the attempt; but before he could escape, he was perceived by the savages, and instantly wounded with two balls: He was the only one whom they seized alive; and after despatching him with their hatchets, they cut off his scalp, and left him dead on the ground. All the others who fled to the



garret were burnt to death. Senseman, the missionary who went out at the back door, had the inexpressible grief to behold his wife perish in this miserable manner. When surrounded by the flames, she was seen standing with folded hands, and in the spirit of a martyr was heard to exclaim: "'TIS ALL WELL, DEAR SAVIOUR!" The whole number who perished in this terrible catastrophe was eleven, namely Martin Nitschman, the first who was killed, and Susanna his wife; Gottlieb Anders, his wife and daughter, an infant only fifteen months old; Anna Catherine Senseman, Christian Fabricius, Leonard Gattermeyer, George Shweigert, Martin Presser, and John Frederic Lesly. Five only made their escape. Besides burning the house, the savages set fire to the barns, and stables, and thus destroyed all the corn, hay, and cattle. They then divided the spoil, soaked some bread in milk, and, after making a hearty meal, departed from the place.<sup>s</sup>

On this occasion, the Brethren were the only sufferers; the Indian congregation providentially escaped. As soon as they heard the report of the guns, and saw the house of the missionaries in flames, and learned the cause of the sad catastrophe, they offered to go and attack the enemy; but being advised to the contrary by one of the Brethren, they all fled into the neighbouring woods, by which means the town was cleared of them in a few minutes, though some were already in bed, and had scarcely time to dress themselves. But though they

<sup>s</sup> Loskiel, Part II. p. 166.—Succinct Account of the Missions of the Brethren, 1771, p. 9.



escaped with their life, they lost their property; for the savages afterwards returned, set fire to the town, destroyed the mill, and laid waste all their plantations. Thus the Indian congregation was reduced to the utmost poverty.<sup>t</sup>

These were disastrous events; but yet they proved the mean of averting still greater calamities. About this very time there was a design on foot to overturn the whole establishments of the Brethren in North America. Some infamous villain had forged a letter, purporting to be written by a French officer at Quebec, in which it was stated, "That his countrymen were certain of soon conquering the English, as the Indians had not only taken their part, but the Moravians also were their good friends, and would afford them every assistance in their power." This letter being published in the Newspapers, excited general suspicion of the Brethren; and this suspicion, instead of being diminished, was increased by their calm, patient, steady behaviour. That cheerfulness which sprung from a consciousness of their own innocence, as well as from resignation to the will of God, was considered by the deluded multitude as a certain indication of their guilt. As the common people were exceedingly exasperated against them, the Brethren were under perpetual apprehensions of being attacked by a mob; nor could government probably have protected them, though convinced of the purity of their intentions, and the utility of their labours. In the Jerseys, a declaration was publicly made with beat of drum, that Bethlehem should be destroyed;

<sup>t</sup> Loskiel, Part II. p. 167, 171.



and the most dreadful threatenings were added, that in the several settlements of the Brethren, such a carnage should be made, as had never before been heard of in North America. It afterwards appeared, from the best authority, that a party of a hundred men who came to Bethlehem, were sent for the express purpose of raising a mob; but the friendly and hospitable manner in which they were treated by the inhabitants, who knew nothing of their intentions, disarmed them of their malice, and made them alter their design. Thus the Brethren were, in general, considered as the secret friends and allies of the French; and these suspicions were daily on the increase, when the attack on their missionary settlement on the Mahony convinced the deluded people of their mistake, since they were among the first in the country against whom the enemy had directed their rage. Such, indeed, was the revolution in the public sentiment, that Bethlehem, and the other settlements of the Brethren, soon became a common asylum for the White people, who fled from the murderous ravages of the Indians. Hundreds of men, women, and children, came even from distant places, begging for shelter, some of them almost entirely destitute, as they had left their all behind them, and fled in the night. These the Brethren supplied with food and clothes, and other necessities, to the utmost of their ability, notwithstanding they themselves had suffered considerable losses by the inroads of the savages, while, at the same time, their resources were materially diminished by the troubles of the war.<sup>u</sup>

<sup>u</sup> Loskiel, Part II. p. 169, 175.



Meanwhile, the Indian congregation had likewise retired from Gnadenhuetten to Bethlehem, a circumstance which contributed to render the situation of that place still more dangerous. On the one hand, the savages insisted on their Indian brethren rising in arms against the English, and threatened to come and murder them all in case of a refusal. On the other, there arose among the White people a set of fanatics, who demanded the total extirpation of the Indian tribes, lest the vengeance of God should fall upon the Christians for not destroying them, as on the Israelites of old, for not exterminating the Canaanites; and, as might be expected, they were mightily incensed against the Brethren, on account of the protection and assistance which they afforded to a race of beings, whom they, in their wisdom, deemed accursed of God. The governor, indeed, promised to protect the Christian converts; but, as a reward of one hundred and thirty pieces of eight, was offered for the head of every hostile Indian, they durst not go abroad, either to hunt, or to pursue other necessary avocations, lest they should be killed by mistake, or for the sake of so large a recompense, or even, simply, through the malice of those who thirsted for their blood. Exposed as the Brethren were, to the wrath of the White people, they were no less an object of indignation to the enemy. Four soldiers, who had deserted from their regiment and fled to the savages, told them, that at Bethlehem they saw the Brethren cut off the heads of all the Indians in that town, put them into bags, and send them to Philadelphia, where they received fifty dollars for each; and that they had left only two alive, with the view



of employing them as spies. On hearing this report, the savages were so enraged, that, though they had no great regard for the Indian congregation, a large party of them set off to murder all the Brethren, and to burn their settlements. By the interference, however, of a chief who was friendly to the missionaries, most of them were induced to return, while the few who still persisted in their design, not judging themselves a match for the enterprise, thought proper to disperse. Sometimes, too, well-disposed Indians, on hearing of a plot against them by the warriors, would travel all night to warn the Brethren of it, and thus frustrated the schemes of the enemy.

Being, in this manner, continually exposed to the rage of both parties; the inhabitants of Bethlehem considered themselves as sheep ready for slaughter. At night, when they lay down to sleep, they knew not whether they should behold the morning; in the morning when they rose, they knew not whether they should see the evening. In general, however, they displayed wonderful resignation to the will of God. Not an individual left the place; each seemed chiefly concerned to be prepared to die. At the same time, they neglected no mean that might contribute to their safety. They surrounded the town with palisadoes, and maintained a constant watch both night and day: even those who were at work in the plantations had a guard to attend them. This office was committed chiefly to the Indians, who considered it as a high honour to be thus employed. "Who am I," said one of them, "that I should watch over children of God?"



I, poor man, am not worthy of this grace. Nor can I guard them aright: therefore, watch thou over them, gracious Saviour, for thou alone canst protect them.”

By such means as these, the settlement was happily preserved from several attacks which the savages meditated against it. They still continued to lay waste the neighbouring country, and everywhere committed the greatest barbarities. They plundered and destroyed several villages so near to Bethlehem, that the flames of the houses were distinctly seen from that place. They even approached the town itself, lurking about with torches, and endeavouring to shoot burning wadding upon the roofs, in order to set the place on fire. They attempted several times in the night, to make a sudden attack upon this and some other settlements of the brethren; but when the spies observed, that the inhabitants were upon their guard, they were afraid, and were glad to withdraw. One day, a party of them were on their way to a field, where about forty Sisters were picking flax, whom they intended to seize and carry off as prisoners. They were already close to it, creeping on their bellies in the Indian manner; but on perceiving a strong guard of Indian Brethren, with their pieces loaded, they were glad to retire. Thus an engagement was happily avoided; for though the converts were very unwilling to shed the blood of their enemies, yet they were determined to defend the women and children intrusted to their care, and consequently had an attack been made, they would have fired upon the assailants, and probably have killed numbers of them, a circum-



stance which would have occasioned both them and the missionaries inexpressible sorrow.<sup>v</sup>

By degrees, the Indian congregation began to enjoy peace and rest, dwelling in safety under the wings of the Brethren at Bethlehem. Some few, indeed, seduced by the arts of their countrymen, forsook the place, and relapsed into Heathenism; but, in general, they remained steadfast to their Christian profession, and exhibited many pleasing proofs of the influence of religion on their heart and life. As, however, the residence of the Indians in Bethlehem was attended with some disadvantages the Brethren obtained for them a grant of land from government, at a place about a mile distant. Here they erected a settlement which they called Nain. In a short time, most of the baptized, who, at the invitation of the savages, had moved to Wajomick, or who had fled to the Susquehannah, after the murder of the missionaries, returned and obtained permission to reside in the town. They were lodged at first beyond the river Lehi, until they afforded full proof of their repentance; but as soon as they gave evidence of this, they were received with joy into the fellowship of the congregation. The inhabitants of Nain, indeed, increased so rapidly, chiefly by the return of those who had wandered during the late troubles, that it soon became necessary to divide them, and form a second settlement. With this view, the Brethren at Bethlehem purchased a tract of land behind the Blue Mountains, consisting of about fourteen hun-

<sup>v</sup> Loskiel, Part II. p. 168, 172, 174. — Crantz's Hist. Breth. p. 474.



dred acres. Thither a number of the Indians repaired under the inspection of one of the missionaries; and having erected a new town, which they called Wechquetank, they introduced into it the same regulations as at Nain. <sup>w</sup>

For a considerable time, both the congregations enjoyed peace, prosperity, and rest; and even the external appearance of the settlements excited the most pleasing emotions in every serious and reflecting mind. Hostilities were long suspended in this part of the country; and for several years, the congregation received no disturbance from the savages; but at length they broke forth with fresh vigour, and involved the Christian Indians in new calamities. <sup>x</sup>

In 1763, the Brethren received intelligence, that the Indians had commenced hostilities near the lakes of Canada and on the river Ohio, where they had murdered several hundred of the White people. They had even begun to make incursions into Pennsylvania; and there was every reason to dread a repetition of those melancholy scenes, which had been exhibited a few years before on the banks of the Mahony. Besides, some persons revived the old foolish doctrine, that this new war was a punishment from God on the White people, because they had neglected to extirpate the savages; and therefore they asserted, that all the Indians, without exception, should be put to the sword. A party of Irish freebooters, in particular, declared, that no Indian should appear in the woods, under pain of being

<sup>w</sup> Loskiel, Part II. p. 177, 182, 189, 193.

<sup>x</sup> Ibid. Part II. p. 190, 202.



shot immediately; and that if only one White man was murdered in that neighbourhood, the whole Irish settlement would rise in arms, and kill all the inhabitants of Nain and Wechquetank, without waiting for an order from government, or even a warrant from a justice of the peace. In consequence of these threatenings, the congregation were often harassed by false alarms; and, at length, a messenger arrived one night, with the painful intelligence, that the savages had attacked an Irish settlement, a few miles from Bethlehem, and killed a captain, a lieutenant, several soldiers, and a Mr. S\*\*\*, whose wife narrowly escaped, though she was the cause of the whole disaster, by dropping some inconsiderate words against a company of Indians who lodged in that quarter. This sad catastrophe naturally excited the utmost alarm in the two missionary settlements; and it soon appeared, that their apprehensions were not without foundation. The very next day, about fifty White people assembled on the opposite side of the river, with the view of surprising Nain in the course of the night, and of murdering all the inhabitants. But a person in the neighbourhood having represented to them the difficulty and danger of the enterprise, they were diverted from their purpose for the present, and returned home in peace. On the same day, a party of the Irish freebooters arrived at Wechquetank, with the design of murdering the whole of the Indians; but the missionary, after he had employed reasoning and expostulation in vain, was at last so happy as to pacify them by means of presents, and by giving them plenty to eat and drink. On taking their departure, however, they



were heard to say, that if the Indians did not soon quit the place, they would return and destroy them all. During the night, all the men were upon the watch; several spies were discovered lurking about the settlement, and a fire at some distance betrayed a neighbouring encampment. A sudden attack, it was supposed was intended; but this was prevented, probably by a violent rain which fell during the night.

It would now have been the height of temerity for the congregation at Wechquetank to have postponed their flight any longer; and therefore they resolved to abandon a place where they were in such imminent danger; especially as they received an express from Bethlehem, with the most pressing solicitations to break up immediately, and to retire to the Brethren's settlement at Nazareth. Just, however, as they were preparing to depart, several musket shots were heard in the neighbourhood. Alarmed by the report, the Indians, who supposed that the savages had attacked the English, resolved to go to the defence of the White people. The missionary, however, urged them not to quit the place, but merely to repel any attack that might be made upon it; and he exhorted them, at the same time, to stand by each other, and to expect deliverance from God: "Very true," answered one of the converts, "only don't you stand before me, but go behind, for I will be shot first." The party, however, from whom the attack was dreaded suddenly marched off with the Indian war-whoop; but it afterwards appeared, that it was a band of soldiers



who wished to draw the Indians into the field, in order to fight them. Having happily escaped this snare, the whole congregation immediately set off for the Brethren's settlement at Nazareth. It was not, indeed, without extreme regret, that they left so pleasant a place, where they possessed excellent houses and large plantations; especially as they had to leave their crop on the ground, and a great part of their cattle behind them.

Meanwhile, the congregation at Nain was in a state of close blockade. The savages continued to lay waste the neighbouring country with fire and sword, and to murder as many of the inhabitants as fell into their hands. By this means, the White people were so enraged against the Indians in general, that the inhabitants of Nain durst not go even to Bethlehem on business, as the fugitives, who had resorted thither from various quarters, abused, insulted, and maltreated them. Even at home, they had to maintain a strict guard both by night and by day, in order that they might hold their meetings, and that the women might gather the crops in safety. Having made such arrangements, as that the enemy could not attack them without danger, they began to hope, that government would support them with more energy, and secure them rest in their own dwellings. These expectations, however, were soon dissipated. A member of the congregation, named Renatus, was unexpectedly seized as the murderer of one of the Irish settlers, and as his person was sworn to by the widow, he was carried to Philadelphia and committed to prison. Innocent as he was of the charge, the report of his apprehension flew like lightning



through the country, and kindled the fury of the White people against the Indians into a violent flame. The danger of the two congregations now became more urgent than ever; but in this emergency, an express arrived from Philadelphia, with an order from the chief magistrates, that they should all deliver up their arms and repair to that city; where they would be protected from their enemies. To the Indians the idea of a removal was extremely painful; but they resolved to resign themselves to the will of God, and to obey the order of government. As soon, therefore, as the sheriff arrived, they delivered up their arms to him with a cheerfulness and composure which strikingly illustrated the influence of the gospel upon their minds, for a Pagan Indian would sooner part with his head than with his gun. They now set forward on their journey; and it was truly an affecting sight, to behold these poor unoffending creatures, travelling patiently along, ignorant of what might be their future destiny. On the road, they suffered much from the malice of some White people, who abused and loaded them with curses. In passing through German-town, they were not only insulted as usual, but the populace talked of nothing but burning and hanging them, and other similar punishments.<sup>2</sup>

Having at length arrived in Philadelphia, they were ordered to be lodged in the barracks; but the soldiers quartered there, refused them admittance, notwithstanding the positive command of the governor. The poor Indians, were by this means, detained in the street from ten o'clock in the morn-

<sup>2</sup> Loskiel, Part II. p. 211.



ing, till three in the afternoon. Here a mob collected around them, who derided, reviled, and charged them with all the horrid outrages committed by the savages, and even threatened to murder them on the spot. The soldiers having peremptorily persisted in refusing them admittance into the barracks, the magistrates ordered them to proceed to Province island, about six miles distant in the river Delaware. As they passed through the city, thousands followed them with tumultuous clamour, so that they seemed like sheep in the midst of wolves. At length, they reached the place of their destination, where they were safely lodged in some large buildings, and kindly provided by government with whatever they needed.

Soon after their arrival at this place, the settlement at Wechquetank was burnt by the White people; and some incendiaries likewise endeavoured to set fire to Bethlehem. The oil-mill was consumed, and the flames raged with such fury, that it was with great difficulty the adjoining water-works were saved from destruction. Besides committing these outrages on the Brethren's settlements, a party of White people attacked a number of Indians in the small village of Canestoga, near Lancaster, and though they were perfectly harmless, and had long lived quietly among the English, butchered fourteen of them. The rest having fled to Lancaster, the magistrates of that town took them under their protection, and lodged them in the gaol or workhouse, a strong and secure building. Thither, however, the murderers followed them: They marched into the town at noonday, broke into the place where they were lodged for security, and



though the poor defenceless Indians begged for life on their knees, the ruffians massacred them all in cold blood, and threw their mangled bodies into the street. They then departed with a diabolical shout of triumph, threatening that the Indians in Province island should soon share a similar fate. <sup>a</sup>

Against these outrages, Government immediately issued a proclamation, forbidding any one to molest the Indians in Province island, under the severest penalties, and offering a reward of two hundred pounds to any person who should discover the two ringleaders of the party, and bring them to justice. It soon appeared, however, that an incredible number of people, including many of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, were connected with them; none of the conspirators were taken up, though they walked publicly in the streets; and some even stood before the Governor's house, and bade him defiance. The rioters became at length so numerous and daring, that many hundreds of them agreed to march to that city, and never to rest till all the Indians taken under the protection of Government were massacred.

Apprehensive of the consequences of these villainous combinations, government resolved to send the Christian Indians to the English army, by the way of New York, and to place them under its protection. In January 1764, the congregation having received an order to this effect, set off on their journey; and on their arrival at Philadelphia, they were provided with waggons for the aged, the sick,

<sup>a</sup> Loskiel, Part II. p. 216.— Franklin's Works, 18mo. Edit. 1803, vol. i. p. 168.



the children, and the heavy baggage. On leaving that city, they were accompanied by so great a crowd of people, that they were scarcely able to proceed. The mob cursed and reviled them in a dreadful manner; but no one ventured to lay hands on them. In all places, indeed, through which they passed, the populace insulted them; but after about a week's journey, they arrived in safety at Amboy, where two sloops were ready to convey them to New York. Just, however, as they were about to embark, a messenger unexpectedly arrived from the Governor of New York, with strict orders that not an Indian should set foot in that province; and even the ferrymen were prohibited, under a severe penalty, from crossing the river with them.

Information of this being sent to Philadelphia, the Christian Indians were ordered to return to that city; and on their arrival they were, for their better security, lodged in the barracks, and attended by a military guard night and day. But as the number and violence of the mob still increased, the first guard was not sufficient for their protection; it was therefore doubled, and the magistrates were even under the necessity of preparing to repel force by force. By their orders, eight heavy pieces of cannon were planted in the front of the barracks, and a rampart was thrown up in the middle of the square. An association of the citizens, including even many of the young Quakers, was formed by the celebrated Benjamin Franklin at the desire of the governor, and repaired to the barracks to assist the soldiers in defending the Indians. On the following day, intelligence was received of the



approach of the conspirators. The whole city was now in an uproar; yet every body prepared to receive them with manly firmness. The eighteen pounders being discharged, the poor Indians, who had never before heard the report of such large cannon, were terribly frightened; the guns, indeed, stood so near the building, that several of the windows were shattered by the explosion. Understanding that such vigorous preparations were made to repel them, the rioters did not venture to enter the city; and accordingly the citizens returned to their homes in peace. Two nights after, however, a report was circulated, that the rebels were again approaching the city. The whole town was now in motion; the church bells were rung, the streets illuminated, and the inhabitants being waked out of their sleep, were summoned to attend at the town-house, where arms and cartridges were distributed among them. Two companies of armed citizens repaired to the barracks, and four other cannon were mounted. The following day was spent in hourly expectation of the arrival of the conspirators; but information was at length received, that being dismayed by the preparations made to repel them, they had desisted from the attempt. Some gentlemen were then deputed by Government to inquire what complaints they had to make. After behaving in a very insolent manner, they asserted that several of the Indians were murderers whom they had seen at Pittsburg, and demanded that they should be delivered up. In order to pacify them, one of the ringleaders was invited to enter the barracks, and to point out the culprits. He accordingly came and examined the whole of them; but he did not



find an individual, whom he could charge with the smallest crime. They then asserted that the Quakers had conveyed away six of them out of the barracks, and concealed them in some place of safety. But when this allegation was investigated, it also was proved a falsehood; upon which the rioters marched off, and relinquished their design for the present.<sup>b</sup>

During the residence of the Indians in the barracks, the missionaries kept up the usual meetings and exercises of the congregation, as far as their peculiar circumstances would allow. They met with them regularly every morning and evening; they administered the Lord's supper to them at stated intervals; they even opened a school for instructing the youth in the English language. People of all descriptions came to see the Indians; and though this was attended with various inconveniences, yet many who previously were ill-disposed towards them, were, by this means, convinced of their innocence. The public worship of the congregation, especially on the Lord's day, was attended by such crowds of people, that the chapel could not contain them; and it was hoped that to some of them the preaching of the word was not in vain. Meanwhile, the Indians had no care as to their temporal support; for the English government generously supplied all their wants; and, indeed, the attention which it uniformly paid to their safety and comfort deserves our warmest encomium.

But notwithstanding these circumstances, the In-

<sup>b</sup> Loskiel, Part II. p. 218.—Woodhouselee's Memoirs of Lord Kames, vol. ii. p. 19.



dians considered their present situation as a very severe trial ; some of them were even more distressed by it than by all the dangers and hardships they had hitherto experienced. Their situation though rendered as agreeable as possible, they viewed as little short of imprisonment, and by degrees it became quite insupportable. As they were no longer at liberty to range and hunt in the forests, a spirit of insubordination broke out among them, particularly among the young people, some of whom grew melancholy, and others refractory. At the same time, the excellent quality of their victuals was as ill adapted to the state of their stomachs, as the want of freedom was to their minds. Besides, as the summer advanced, the small-pox and fever broke out among them, and filled them with such horror and consternation, that many of them meditated their escape from the barracks. These diseases, cut off nearly sixty of them, many of whom died in the full assurance of glory, honour, and immortality beyond the grave.

In March 1765, the Indians, to their inexpressible joy, were set at liberty, after a confinement of about sixteen months ; but as there was reason to apprehend they could not live in the neighbourhood of the White people without being greatly molested by them, it was agreed that they should settle in the Indian country on the banks of the river Susquehannah. In their journey thither they had new and almost incredible difficulties to encounter. Though peace was now restored, yet the enmity of many of the White people against the Indians was still so violent, that to avoid danger, they were under the necessity of taking a very



tedious and circuitous route. Such parts of their baggage as were not sent by waggons, they had often to carry over high, steep, and rocky hills, in small parcels, by which means they had to travel the same road several times over. In some places they had to cut their way through the woods ; in one instance, for no less than five miles together. Through the brooks and rivers the men were obliged to wade ; and for the women and children, they had to construct rafts, a work of considerable difficulty, as the violent currents often carried away the trees they had cut down for this purpose, before they could be fixed together ; some rivers were so broad and deep, that they were obliged to encamp on their banks, and to build canoes in which to cross them. As for lodging, they had to sleep chiefly in the open woods ; and in some instances they were under the necessity of stopping all night in swamps, there being no dry ground near at hand. The greatest difficulty of all, however, was the want of provisions. Hunting was their chief support ; but in some places neither game nor fish could be found. When their whole stock of flour was exhausted, it was truly affecting to behold them receive their last portion. They were now glad to find wild potatoes in the woods, though nothing but hunger would have rendered them palatable. To satisfy the children who cried for want, they peeled the chesnut trees, and made them suck the juices under the bark, and even the old people were under the necessity of resorting to the same expedient. As for drink, they had often nothing but the muddy water, found in swampy puddles. One night, they were terribly alarmed by the woods being on fire,



and burning most furiously around their encampment, from ten o'clock till one in the morning. But all these trials were forgotten in their daily meetings, in which they experienced the presence of Christ in a remarkable manner. They usually held them in the evening, round a large fire, in the open air. After a tedious and irksome journey of five weeks, they at length arrived at the place of their destination; and as a mariner, after a storm, rejoices to enter the haven, so the Indian congregation, after the many trials and hardships they had of late endured, were happy to reach their new abode, where they hoped to enjoy peace, tranquillity and rest. <sup>c</sup>

Having pitched on a convenient spot on the banks of the Susquehannah for a settlement, they here began to build a regular town, which they called Friedenshuetten, or *Tents of Peace*. It was pleasing to see how judiciously the Indians planned, and how diligently they executed, the work of each day. The town when completed, consisted of thirteen Indian huts, and upwards of forty houses, built of wood, in the European fashion, lighted with windows, covered with shingles, and provided with chimneys. The street was eighty feet broad; and in the middle of it stood the chapel, a neat and spacious building. The ground next the houses was laid out in gardens; and between the settlement and the river, about two hundred and fifty acres were divided into regular plantations of Indian corn. The burying ground was situated at some distance, at the back of the buildings. <sup>d</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Loskiel, Part II. p. 225.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. Part III. p. 1.



After the erection of this settlement, great numbers of the Indians came to it from every quarter, and were much delighted with the external appearance of the place. It was, they said, the most beautiful Indian town they had ever beheld. But what was of more importance, many of them were deeply impressed by the gospel, and were filled with serious concern for their souls. Frequently the whole assembly was so affected, that the missionaries were obliged to stop, and mingle their tears with those of their people. This may not unjustly be viewed as a striking proof of the powerful efficacy of the gospel on their hearts, considering the contempt in which the savage Indians hold a person who according to them, is so weak as to weep. "Whenever I saw a man shed tears," said one of the converts, "I used to doubt whether he was a man. I would not have wept, though my enemies had cut the flesh from my bones: that I now weep is of God, who has softened the hardness of my heart." Besides holding the daily meetings with the congregation, the missionaries were often called upon, on other occasions, to make known the gospel; for the visitors came into their houses, begging to hear more of "these sweet and comfortable words." It seemed, indeed, as if they would never be satisfied, so that frequently the Brethren had scarcely time to eat or to rest. Many of those, also, who, during the troubles of the war, had wandered from the congregation, now returned, and were received with affection and joy.<sup>e</sup>

The town increased so rapidly, and the number

<sup>e</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 4, 11, 38.



of hearers was so great, that in less than two years, it was necessary to build a larger place of worship. Among their visitors, were Indians of various tribes, particularly Mohawks, Cajugus, Senekas, Tutelas, Delawares, Mohegans, Wampanose, Nantikoks, and Tuscaroras. Many of these were driven to Friedenshuetten, by a famine which prevailed in the country; others preferred this road, in their way to different parts of the Indian territory, wishing to see a place so renowned for its hospitality. At one time, for instance, seventy-five Tuscaroras from Carolina, and at another, fifty-seven Nantikoks from Maryland, impelled by hunger, came and stopped for several weeks. Some of them were so far impressed by the gospel, that they thanked God for the famine without which they would never have come to this place, nor heard the good news of salvation. Induced by the hope of being useful to them, the Christian Indians cheerfully fed the hungry, and even overlooked the impositions of some, who, abusing their generosity, ate up their provisions, and led an idle profligate life, without ever attending to the word of God. <sup>f</sup>

For several years, the course of the Indian congregation at this place was of the most pleasing nature. The Christian converts appeared evidently to grow both in knowledge and in grace; many of their Heathen visitors were awakened to a sense of their sin and danger; and even several who had once been robbers and murderers, seemed now to "hunger and thirst after righteousness," and by their simple unaffected declarations, afforded the

<sup>f</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 18.



missionaries no small satisfaction. The Brethren had likewise much pleasure in the young people, among whom the symptoms of religion were of the most agreeable nature ; and for whose use two new and spacious schools were erected in the settlement. Besides, a powerful awakening began in a town about thirty miles up the river ; and a missionary was at length settled in that place, and maintained regular meetings for public worship, so that it might be considered as a kind of Chapel of Ease to Friedenshuetten. For some time, indeed, it appeared as if all the Indians in that town and neighbourhood would embrace the gospel. §

In September 1767, David Zeisberger set off on a journey to the river Ohio, accompanied by two of the Indian assistants, as he had heard that some of the inhabitants of that part of the country were desirous of hearing the gospel. His design was to visit Goshgoshuenk, though in every town through which he passed, he received the most unfavourable accounts of the people of that place. He was not intimidated, however, by these reports ; but proceeded forward in his journey, in the course of which, he and his companions endured the most dreadful hardships. They had often to travel over extensive plains, overgrown with such high grass, that a man on horseback was entirely covered by it ; and when either dew or rain had fallen, they were completely drenched to the skin. The further they proceeded, the more horrible did the wilderness become ; they had often by day to work a path through the thickets, and at night to sleep in the

§ Loskiel, Part III. p. 36, 51.



open air, exposed to the cold and all the inclemency of the weather.<sup>h</sup>

Having arrived at Goshgoshuenk, Zeisberger soon discovered, that the description he had received of the inhabitants of that town, was by no means unfounded. Never, indeed, had he seen the abominations of Paganism practised in so horrid a manner; never had he beheld sin assume so hideous and unblushing a form, as at this place. It seemed to be the seat of Satan's court; it appeared the very centre of his throne.

But notwithstanding the wickedness of the place, the people were highly pleased with Zeisberger's visit, owing no doubt to the novelty of the circumstance. Many of them could never hear enough of the great and fundamental principle of the gospel, that "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners;" and as the language, in which the truths of religion were expressed, was not perfectly intelligible to them, the two Indian assistants were often employed till past midnight, in repeating and explaining "the great words" uttered by the missionary.

After a short stay, Zeisberger left Goshgoshuenk; but he returned the following summer accompanied by another of the Brethren and several of the converts, with the view of establishing a mission in this place. On their arrival, they preached every day, and held meetings with the people, morning and evening, for the purpose of instructing them in the principles of the Christian faith. On these occasions, the Indians attended in great numbers;

<sup>h</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 20.



and it was not a little curious to see so many assembled to hear the gospel, with their faces painted black and vermilion, and their heads decorated with clusters of feathers and foxes' tails. At first, they heard the word with great attention; but afterwards many of them opposed it with no less violence. Instigated by the chiefs, who became jealous of their own authority, the old women went about publicly complaining, that the Indian corn was blasted, or devoured by the worms; that the deer and other game already retired from the woods; the chesnuts and bilberries would no longer grow in the country, because the White men brought strange things to their ears, and the Indians began to change their manner of life. To appease the wrath of the offended spirits, the sorcerers appointed solemn sacrifices, and offered up hogs by way of atonement. A report was circulated by others, that some New England Indians had been on the other side of the great ocean, and brought a letter from King George of England to all the Indians in North America, warning them against the Moravians who lived at Bethlehem, as they would lead them straight to hell. Some of the neighbouring chiefs and tribes likewise sent messages to them, expressing their high displeasure, that they should have allowed White men to settle among them, and urging them either to banish or kill them without delay. By these means, the whole town was thrown into the utmost confusion. The enemies of the missionaries became daily more violent than ever; and even many of those who expressed the greatest joy at their arrival, were now the most bitter against them. Some openly advised to kill them; others



insisted, that not only the missionaries, but all the Christian Indians should be murdered, and thrown into the Ohio. Two of them even entered into an agreement to assassinate the Brethren; and one evening several disagreeable visitors made their appearance at a late hour, with an intent to murder them; but their hearts failed them, so that they did not carry their design into execution.<sup>i</sup>

Notwithstanding these difficulties and dangers, the Brethren, with singular intrepidity, resolved to stand firm by their post. With this view, they built a small winter house at a little distance from the town, where they might have an opportunity of administering the Lord's Supper to their own people, and of holding other meetings with them, and such of the inhabitants of the place as chose to attend. Several, dreading the reproach of men, stayed away, or came only by night to escape observation. Others stood without, to take the word of God, as it were, by stealth. Young people were prohibited by their parents from visiting the missionaries; and some parents were prevented by their children. Such as came boldly to the meetings were abused and persecuted by their neighbours, who branded them with the most opprobrious names, as Sunday Indians, Shwonnaks, that is, White people, an appellation which, in the view of an Indian, is the most intolerable in the world. Some were even driven from their houses, and took refuge among the Brethren, by whose intercession, an aged chief, who was extremely friendly to the cause, took them under his protection.

<sup>i</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 20, 28.



The inhabitants of the town were now divided into two parties, one of which opposed the gospel with the utmost violence, while the other was so much attached to it, as to declare, they would sooner quit the place, and build a town in some other quarter, than be deprived of it. The opposition at length rose to such a height that the Brethren, and such of the people as were friendly to them, retired to a place about fifteen miles distant, on the opposite side of the river. Here they built a new settlement; and the missionaries had soon the pleasure of baptizing, several of the Indians, among whom was the aged chief now mentioned, who had lost his sight. A stranger Indian, who was carrying a barrel of rum to Goshgoshuenk for sale, called at this place by the way; and having heard the gospel, was so convinced of his sinfulness and misery, that he resolved to alter his manner of life. He accordingly returned the barrel of rum to the trader at Pittsburg, declaring that he would neither drink nor sell any more spirituous liquors, for it was against his conscience. He therefore begged him to take it back, adding, that if he refused, he would pour it into the Ohio. The trader, as well as the other White people who were present, was amazed, and assured him, that this was the first barrel of rum he had ever seen returned by an Indian; but he, at the same time, took it back, without further objection. Even the inhabitants of Goshgoshuenk at length ceased in their opposition; and the council of that town, convinced of the disinterestedness of the missionaries, begged them to forget all that was past, and adopted them as members of the Delaware nation, that so,



in case of war, they should not be treated as other White people, but be considered as native Delawares.<sup>k</sup>

Hostilities having commenced between the Seneka and the Cherokee Indians, the Brethren judged it prudent to retire from this part of the country, on account of its vicinity to the seat of war, especially as the number of those who came to hear the gospel increased so rapidly, that they began to be in want of room, and as an offer had lately been made them by some distant chiefs, of land in their neighbourhood.

In April 1770, the congregation embarked on the river Ohio in sixteen canoes, and sailed by Pittsburg to the mouth of the Beaver creek. Having entered this river, they proceeded up to the falls, where they had to unload, and transport their goods and canoes by land. After a journey of upwards of a fortnight, they arrived in that part of the country where they intended to take up their residence, and immediately proceeded to build a new settlement, which they called Friedenstadt, or the *Town of Peace*.<sup>l</sup>

The Indians in the neighbouring country were at first astonished to see a people settle among them so different in manners and customs from themselves, and to hear a doctrine so opposite to the views they had been accustomed to entertain. In some, however, this astonishment soon degenerated into opposition, especially after one of the chiefs manifested a decided attachment to the gos-

<sup>k</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 33, 42, 53, 59.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. Part III. p. 55.



pel. They harassed the Brethren without intermission, by incessantly propagating the most daring falsehoods, and even counterfeiting messages and letters from the chiefs to them. In consequence of a very peremptory message of this kind, from the chief and council of a distant town, demanding, that an Indian woman, who had lately been baptized, should immediately be sent back, Zeisberger, dreading the pernicious consequences of such an order, set off for that place, and, after a tedious journey, reached it in safety. Having requested a meeting of the council, he read the letter to them, when it was discovered, that neither the chief nor the council knew any thing of it; but that one of the counsellors present had written it of his own accord, and signed it with two fictitious names. Being in this manner detected, he was publicly confounded before the whole assembly, who expressed great indignation at his conduct, and agreed, that as the Brethren never detained any in their settlements contrary to their inclination, so none should be compelled to leave them, for the Indians were a free people, at perfect liberty to act in all things agreeably to their own will. Zeisberger having embraced the opportunity of his visit to this town to preach the gospel to the inhabitants, numbers of them heard it with much attention; but others opposed it with no less violence, in consequence chiefly of the insinuations of some Pagan teachers, who had strenuously recommended the use of emetics, as a speedy and infallible method of cleansing from sin, so that, here, this singular practice was quite general. In vain, therefore, did the missionary attempt to show them, that though a



vomit may cleanse the stomach, it can never cleanse the soul; and that this could be effected only by the application of the blood of Christ to their guilty consciences. <sup>m</sup> \*

<sup>m</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 57, 69.

\* About the middle of the eighteenth century, a considerable change took place in the religious opinions of the Indians. Some preachers of their own nation then arose, pretending that they had received revelations from heaven; that they had travelled thither, and conversed with God. They gave different accounts of their exploits on the journey; but all agreed in this, that no one could enter heaven without great danger. "The road," said they, "runs close by the gates of hell. There the devil lies in ambush, and snatches at every one who is going to God." Such as passed in safety this dangerous place, came first to the Son of God, and through him to God himself, from whom, they pretended, they had received a commandment to teach the Indians the way to heaven. Some of their preachers, however, acknowledged, that they had not reached the dwelling-place of God; but yet they alleged they had approached near enough to hear the cocks crow, and to see the smoke of the chimneys in heaven!

Others of their teachers contradicted this doctrine, and maintained that no one knew the dwelling-place of God, but only that of the good spirits, which was situated above the blue sky. This, according to them, formed a kind of partition between the habitation of the good spirits and that of man; and they pretended, that they had found the way to this land over a great rock, upon which the heavens reeled to and fro, with a tremendous noise.

Others of their preachers maintained a different opinion concerning the land of spirits, and the road thither. They appealed to the testimony of two Indians, who, according to them, were dead for several days, and, in the meanwhile, visited the habitation of the good spirits. On their return to life, they related that it was situated to the south of heaven, and that the bright tract, called the Milky Way, was the road to it. This led to a most glorious city, the inhabitants of which enjoyed every thing that was good in the greatest abundance.



Indeed, Zeisberger, who was now well known among various of the Indian tribes, was a marked object of their malice, and was frequently in danger of his life. One night, some malicious people came

Those teachers, who pretended that they had been with God, delineated two roads upon a deer skin, both leading to heaven, the one for the Indians, the other for the White people. The latter, they said, used to go a great way about, and the road for the Indians was then the shortest; but the White people having now blocked up the path for the Indians, they were obliged to make a long circuit before they arrived in heaven.

To Pagans, the system of morals inculcated by these preachers might seem severe, for some of them represented a total cessation from fornication, adultery, murder, and robbery, as an essential condition of obtaining a place among the good spirits, and a share in their happiness. Besides, they alleged it was necessary they should be thoroughly cleansed from their sins; and they gave their deluded followers emetics, as the most certain and expeditious method of effecting this purification. Some of the Indians, who believed in these absurdities, vomited so often, that their life was endangered by it. They were further exhorted to fast strictly, and to take nothing but physic for many days. Few, indeed, persevered in following so severe a regimen.

Other teachers maintained, that stripes were the most effectual means of taking away sin. They, therefore, advised their hearers to suffer themselves to be beaten with twelve different sticks, from the soles of their feet to their necks, that their sins might pass from them through their stomachs and throat. Even these tormentors had their votaries, though it was evident that the people became no better, but rather worse, in consequence of these wretched doctrines.

Various as were the principles of the Indian preachers, they all agreed in this, that the bad Indians who disobeyed their precepts, would not after death be admitted into the place of the good spirits. They would be kept, they said, at some distance, near enough to behold how cheerful and happy the good Indians were, but yet they would not be permitted to approach them; they would have nothing to eat but poisonous



to Friedenstadt, and insisted on compelling the inhabitants to get drunk ; but having failed in the attempt, they threatened to murder first the missionaries, and afterwards the whole congregation, and raised such a hideous uproar in the town, that the Indian sisters fled to the woods, and the men were obliged to keep a strict watch around the dwelling of their teachers.

Meanwhile, notwithstanding these and other trials, the congregation at Friedenstadt continued to flourish and increase. The number of hearers was daily augmented, among whom was a man who belonged to the party which murdered the Brethren at the settlement on the Mahony some years before. He was often so much affected in hearing the word, that he shed floods of tears. The first person who was baptized at this place, was the wife of the blind and aged chief, already mentioned, who formerly opposed his embracing the gospel with the utmost violence, but who now herself submitted to the yoke of the Redeemer. Some of the Indians, who had never before witnessed the administration of baptism, were, on this occasion, wood and noxious roots ; they would be always dying a dreadful death, yet never actually die.

The respect, however, which was shown to these preachers lasted only till they were foolish enough to promise their votaries success in hunting, and in all their undertakings ; power to walk on water as on dry ground ; and abundant harvests from ill sown land. Nothing, indeed, could be more agreeable to the slothful disposition of the Indians than such promises ; but when their credulity was followed by famine, their regard for their teachers vanished, before these deceivers were able to invent new evasions to prevent the ruin of their credit. Loskiel, Part I. p. 34, 37.



struck with surprise and astonishment; and indeed the presence of God seemed to pervade the whole assembly to such a degree, that the missionaries were overcome with joy, and resolved to maintain their post, though it should be at the expense of their life. Among others, a chief named Glikkikan, who, when he first visited the Brethren, came with the express purpose of disputing with them, and confounding them by his arguments, but who for some time had been under serious impressions of religion, now took a decided part with the congregation, notwithstanding the obloquy and danger to which it exposed him. One day, after hearing a discourse, he wept aloud on his way home. The Pagans were amazed to behold such a noted and valiant captain weep in the presence of his old acquaintances; but the Brethren were delighted to see this proof of the power of the gospel, in melting the proud and stubborn heart, even of a wild Indian chief. He and another of their captains were at length baptized together, and both of them afterwards proved distinguished ornaments of the Christian name.<sup>n</sup>

Meanwhile, the congregation at Friedenshuetten resolved to leave that place, and to retire, at least for the present, to the settlement of Friedenstadt. The Iroquois Indians had secretly sold the land on which their town was built to the English, notwithstanding the grant they had previously made of it to them; the number of European settlers in the neighbourhood was daily increasing, a circumstance which exposed the young people to numerous and

<sup>n</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 46, 57, 60, 62, 71.



powerful temptations ; the Senekas, by their mischievous behaviour, occasioned them no small trouble, as the White people were extremely apt to suspect the Christian Indians as accomplices with them in their iniquitous deeds. For these reasons, the Brethren determined to leave the place ; but as this subjected them to very considerable loss, and as it could be proved that they were compelled to go away in consequence of the sale of the land to the English, they applied to the governor of Philadelphia for redress, which was afterwards granted them, though not to the whole extent of their loss. °

In June 1772, the Indian congregation at Friedenshuetten, consisting of two hundred and forty-one persons, left that place, and set off on their journey, some of them proceeding by land, and a still greater number by water. The toil and trouble attending the emigration of such a number of people, with all their goods and cattle, in so wild and woody a country as North America then was, can scarcely be conceived by a person who was not an eye-witness of the journey. Those who went by land had about seventy oxen, and a still greater number of horses to take care of. In the course of the journey, they suffered incredible hardships, in working a way for themselves and their beasts, through the woods and swamps, where they were directed merely by a small path, which, in some places was scarcely discernible, so that it seemed almost impossible even for a single individual to mark a path and force a passage, the thickets were so close and the woods so immense, one of them

° Loskiel, Part III. p. 41, 64, 76.



being computed to be about sixty miles in length. Through these, indeed, they had often rather to creep than to walk; and in one part of the country, they were obliged to wade no fewer than thirty-six times over the windings of the river Munsy. But notwithstanding the difficulties and hardships of the journey, they kept up their daily worship as regularly as possible; and they had frequently strangers among them, both Indians and White people, who attended their meetings, a circumstance which served greatly to lighten their toils and sorrows. The party which went by water likewise met with no inconsiderable difficulties. Soon after their departure, the measles broke out among them, and many fell sick, especially the children, a circumstance which augmented not a little the fatigue of the journey. Every night they were obliged to seek a lodging on shore, and suffered much from the severity of the cold. In some places they were molested by inquisitive, in others by drunken people; and the many falls and dangerous currents in the river Susquehannah, occasioned them inconceivable difficulties and frequent delays. The two parties having at length met, they united together, and proceeded the rest of the way by land. In crossing the mountains, they had great difficulties to encounter; for as they had not horses enough to carry all their baggage, most of them were obliged to take part of it on their backs, or in their hands. They were also in continual alarm on account of the rattle-snakes, which were very numerous during a considerable part of the journey. Ettwein, one of the Brethren who accompanied them, happening to tread on one of these reptiles, was so frightened



that for many days after he durst hardly venture to step forward; every rustling of a leaf made him dread the approach of a snake. But the greatest plague both to man and beast, especially in passing through the woods, was an insect called by the Indians Ponk, or *Living ashes*, from its being so small that it was scarcely visible, and its bite like the burning of red hot ashes. As soon as the evening fires were kindled, the cattle, in order to get rid of these troublesome creatures, ran furiously towards them, crowding into the smoke, and thus greatly annoyed the people, both in their sleep and at their meals. Besides, our travellers were sometimes under the necessity of stopping a day or two in one place, to supply themselves with the necessities of life. In the course of the journey, they shot upwards of a hundred and fifty deer, and caught great quantities of fish in the brooks and rivers. After a tedious and irksome journey of eight weeks, they at length arrived at Friedenstadt, and met with a most affectionate reception from the whole congregation in that town.<sup>p</sup>

When the Indians of Friedenshuetten came to this place, it was not with the view of settling in it. Both the congregations, had lately received an invitation from the chief and council of a town on the river Muskingum, to come and reside in that part of the country, on whatever tract of land they might think proper. Zeisberger, accordingly, had undertaken a journey thither, in order to fix on a suitable spot for a settlement. Here he pitched on a place about seventy miles to the southward of

<sup>p</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 77.



Lake Erie, with an excellent spring, good planting grounds, plenty of game, and various other conveniences for an Indian town; and on his requesting a grant of this tract of land from the council to the congregation, they not only informed him that this was the very spot which the chiefs had destined for them, but they in a solemn manner, granted them all the lands within certain bounds, including a very considerable territory; they determined that no other Indians should settle upon them; and they directed that all Indians dwelling on the borders of that district should behave peaceably to the missionaries and their people, that they should neither disturb their worship, nor hinder their countrymen from going to hear the gospel. Zeisberger, returned to this quarter soon after with five families, consisting of twenty-eight persons, and began to erect a new town, which he called Schoenbrunn, or *the Beautiful Spring*. Not long after, a great part of the Indian congregation removed from Friedenstadt to the Muskingum, and built a settlement about ten miles below that place, which they called Gnadenhuetten.<sup>a</sup>

Meanwhile, the situation of the congregation at Friedenstadt became more alarming than ever. The daily encroachments of their Indian neighbours occasioned them extreme perplexity, and the pernicious consequences of the rum trade were altogether unsupportable. Sometimes the savages brought a great quantity of spirits close to the town, and there they drank, and danced, and raved like so many maniacs. After getting intoxicated,

<sup>a</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 73, 82.



they frequently entered the settlement, rambled through the town, and broke every window that happened to be open, so that the inhabitants were at last under the necessity of fastening their shutters, and burning candles even by day. Nothing, indeed, but the providence of God preserved the settlement from destruction. In several instances, when they entered the town, intent on mischief, they quarrelled among themselves, and instead of injuring the missionaries, or the Christian Indians, they attacked and mangled one another with their knives in the most brutal manner. Some, however, burst open the doors of several houses, and rushed forward, brandishing their arms, and threatening to murder every one of the family. These outrages rose at length to such a height, that the Christian Indians, much against their inclination, were under the necessity of seizing several of the rioters, and keeping them bound till they became sober, lest they should proceed to still greater excesses. One day, a savage came running into the settlement, exclaiming, he would kill the White man. Having proceeded at full speed to the house of the missionary, he burst open the door, and entered the room with all the fury of a wild beast. Terrified at his appearance, the missionary's wife snatched up her child, and instantly fled; but the missionary himself, who was confined by sickness, sat up in bed, and looked at him with the utmost composure. Disconcerted by this, the wretch suddenly stopped short, and the Indian Brethren hastening to the assistance of their teacher, seized and bound him with ease. These circumstances, however, were so extremely troublesome, that the remainder of the



congregation at length removed, from this disagreeable neighbourhood, and proceeded to join their friends on the banks of the Muskingum.<sup>r</sup>

Meanwhile, the congregation in that quarter was not without its vicissitudes and trials. Not only did the petty wars of the Indians still continue, but hostilities, at length, commenced between some of them, and the inhabitants of Virginia, which created such trouble and confusion throughout the whole country, that for a considerable time neither of the Brethren's settlements enjoyed almost a single day of rest; and, in consequence of the rage of the savages against the White people, the missionaries, in particular, were often in danger of their life. Numerous troops of warriors marched through the settlements, some upon murdering expeditions, others returning with scalps and prisoners, uttering dreadful threatenings that both places should soon be surprised and burnt to the ground. Reports were perpetually flying through the country, that the enemy were actually on their way to destroy the towns, and to murder the inhabitants. Canoes were always kept in readiness for any sudden emergency, as the congregation were frequently so terrified, even in the night, by frightful rumours, that all were on the point of taking flight; the women were repeatedly driven from their plantations at noon-day; and all the people were confined to their habitations for days and even for weeks together, as several parties appeared in the neighbourhood, with the view of seizing on stragglers. When the Virginians first flew to arms, they had no authority

<sup>r</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 87.



from those in power; but government was at length obliged to interfere in the quarrel, and to march troops into the field; and as the Indians were completely defeated, peace was soon re-established. <sup>s</sup>

In the midst of these external trials, the settlements of the Brethren were not only preserved in safety, but enjoyed internal prosperity. The chapel at Schoenbrunn, though it held about five hundred people, became too small for the number of hearers. Multitudes of strangers visited the settlement, and heard the gospel; many of the warriors were impressed by the word, and several even of the chiefs were at length baptized. A man, who about this time was dismissed from Gnadenhuetten on account of his ill behaviour, was so exasperated at his expulsion, that he entered the house of Schmick one of the missionaries, armed with a large knife, and intent on revenge. Not finding him at home, he came away, and having afterwards repented of his conduct, he earnestly begged to be re-admitted into the congregation, and was baptized by the very man whom he had so lately intended to murder. Another Indian, who had been appointed successor to a neighbouring chief, declined the offer, choosing rather to be a humble follower of Christ, than to occupy the most honourable place among his countrymen. The observations which some of them made were often remarkably pleasing, and the similies they employed peculiarly striking; "When my wife," said a stranger, "was to be delivered of her first born, I was impatient to see the child. When I saw it, I thought, 'This child has God

<sup>s</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 89, 93, 96.



made." Indeed, I loved it so much that I could not forbear looking at it continually. Soon after, however, the child died, and I mourned over it to such a degree, that nothing would comfort me. I had no rest night nor day ; my child was always in my thoughts, for my very heart cleaved to it. At last I could bear the house no longer, but ran into the woods, and almost lost my senses. The Indians then advised me to take an emetic, to get rid of my sorrow. I did so ; but my love for the child, and my sorrow for its loss, were not diminished, and I returned to the woods. From this," added he, " I conclude that those who love God are disposed towards him, as I was towards the child I so dearly loved ; they can never forget him, nor find rest or pleasure in any thing else." Another of their visitors expressed his surprise that he was required to pay nothing for the missionary's sermons : " I have been here," said he, " three days, and have heard many excellent words without paying any wampum. It is not so among the Indians. When you want to learn any thing from the old and wise men, you must first give them strings and belts of wampum, otherwise they will not instruct you."

During the war, there was such a marked contrast between the conduct of the Christian and the Pagan Indians, even with regard to circumstances of an external nature, as places, in a striking and interesting light, the beneficial influence of the gospel, in ameliorating the temper, views, and manners of the wildest and most uncultivated savages. The former, notwithstanding the frequent inter-

<sup>c</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 97, 99, 104, 106, 108.



ruptions to which they were exposed, laboured with diligence at their usual avocations, sowing their fields, planting their gardens, boiling sugar, &c.; while the latter neglected work of every kind, and would, at length, have been reduced to absolute starvation, had not their Christian countrymen generously relieved their wants as long as it was in their power. Indeed, they not only supplied the needy, but provided many of the warriors who marched through their settlements, with food and other necessaries, a circumstance which not only surprised the Pagan Indians, but had a happy effect in lessening their prejudices against their Christian countrymen. "I have, found," said a captain on one of these occasions, "I have found your people to be very different from what I heard of them in our towns. There, it is said, that when a strange Indian comes to you, he is sent to make his fire in the wood, and can get nothing to eat; but it is false, for we have been all fed and lodged by you. In the neighbouring town, the inhabitants made wry faces at us; but here all the men, women, and even the children, made us welcome." Such was the success with which the Brethren had infused their own mild benevolent spirit into the Indians under their care. <sup>u</sup>

Indeed, the Indians who had originally invited the Brethren into this part of the country, were now so much impressed in their favour, that they not only ratified their former acts, but sent an embassy to them, requesting that a third settlement might be established in their neighbourhood. Their

<sup>u</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 98.



address on this occasion was to the following effect: "Brothers and friends! You told us, upon your arrival, that you intended to build two or three towns for the believing Indians. Two are erected, and we perceive that they are already filled with inhabitants. We, therefore, having long ago resolved to receive the gospel, have thought, upon mature deliberation, that it is now time to build the third town, that those of our people who believe may have a place of refuge. We, therefore desire you to begin as soon as possible. We wish particularly to see our children instructed in reading the Holy Scriptures, that they may never forget them. Our eyes look towards you, for we are not able to accomplish it ourselves." Encouraged by this message, the Brethren proceeded to form a new missionary station, which they called Lichtenau, and they had soon the satisfaction to find that a better situation could not have been chosen for the purpose. In the neighbouring town, and in other places, many of the Indians became concerned about their souls; and as all who appeared truly in earnest were permitted to reside in the settlement, it was not long before it increased both in numbers and extent.

But while the mission was, in this manner, extending its boundaries, its progress was suddenly checked by the war which had now commenced between Great Britain and the colonies. The dispute had already risen so high, that the disturbances occasioned by it reached even to the Ohio and the Muskingum. The Brethren were placed in



extremely embarrassing circumstances; and though they determined to take no part in the war, yet it was scarcely possible for them to act with such circumspection as to offend neither the English nor the Americans, nor the several tribes of Indians who sided with the one or the other party. They perceived that they would be placed, as it were, between three fires; that each of the belligerent powers would be dissatisfied with their neutrality, and that they would all view them with suspicion and disgust.

The Brethren, agreeably to the resolution they had taken, cautiously avoided interfering with the messages which the Delawares sent, either to the English, the Americans, or the neighbouring tribes, or with any thing relative to political affairs. There was one circumstance, however, which was very perplexing to them. The Delaware Indians occasionally received letters from Pittsburg and other places; and as they could not read them, they generally applied to the missionaries to know their contents, and sometimes desired them to answer them in the name of the chiefs. To have refused their request, would not only have been ungrateful but dangerous; yet, innocent as their compliance was, the Brethren anxiously wished to have been excused this office, as they were afraid that people, who knew not the nature of the business, might suspect that they themselves were carrying on a correspondence with one of the belligerent powers.

While several of the Indian tribes joined either the English or the Americans, and committed the most shocking outrages on their enemies, the chiefs of the Delaware nation determined to maintain a



strict neutrality, both with the White people and their own countrymen. The Monsys, indeed, one of the Delaware tribes, secretly resolved to separate from the body of the nation, and to join the Mingoes, a gang of thieves and murderers. Before, however, they avowed their design, they endeavoured to form a party among the enemies of the mission; and they even ventured into the settlements, and sought to decoy some of the congregation to join them, a measure in which they were too successful. In the midst of Schoenbrunn, they found a party of apostates who seemed determined to relinquish Christianity, and to replace Paganism upon the throne. So severe a trial the Brethren had never before experienced; in comparison of this, all their past difficulties and hardships were light and trivial. To recover the backsliders, they spared no labour or pains, employing every mean which reason could suggest, or love could dictate. The attempt, however, was vain. It even appeared that the Monsys and the apostate party had nothing less in view, than either to murder the missionaries, or to convey them to Fort Detroit, as it was supposed that it was through their influence the Delaware chiefs were so firm in maintaining peace. The Brethren, therefore, resolved to continue no longer in so dangerous a situation, where the faithful part of the congregation were exposed to the worst of all contagions; and accordingly they soon after retired with their people, to the other two settlements.<sup>w</sup>

In August 1777, the Brethren received information that two hundred Huron warriors, under a

<sup>w</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 109, 113, 119.



Chief called Half-king, were on their march to the settlement of Lichtenau. This intelligence created them, at first, no small alarm; but after mature deliberation, they resolved to show no symptoms of fear, but rather to gain the savages by hospitality and kindness. They accordingly lost no time in killing oxen and pigs, and preparing other kinds of provisions for them; and it may be remarked to the honour of the Christian Indians, that their liberality on this occasion was truly remarkable, as they considered this the only means of saving their beloved teachers. The warriors, on their arrival at the neighbouring town, were no less pleased than surprised at meeting a number of the congregation from Lichtenau with provisions for them; and as this put them in good humour, an embassy was sent to the Half-king, and the other chiefs of the Hurons, when the Christian Indian, Glikkikan, addressed them in the following manner:

“Uncle! We, your cousins, \* the congregation of believing Indians at Lichtenau and Gnadenhuetten, rejoice at this opportunity to see and to speak with you. We cleanse your eyes from all the dust, and whatever the wind may have carried into them, that you may see your cousin with clear eyes and a serene countenance. We cleanse your ears and hearts from all evil reports, which an evil wind may have conveyed into them on the journey, that our words may find entrance into your ears, and a place in your hearts.” Here he delivered a string of wampum, and then proceeded: “Uncle,

\* The several tribes of Indians consider themselves as standing in certain relations to each other, as grandfather, uncles, brothers, &c.



hear the words of the believing Indians, your cousins, at Lichtenau and Gnadenhuetten. We wish you to know that we have received and believed the word of God for upwards of thirty years, and meet daily to hear it, morning and evening. You must also know that we have our teachers dwelling amongst us, who instruct us and our children. By this word of God preached unto us by our teachers, we are taught to keep peace with all men, and to consider them as friends; for thus God has commanded us, and therefore we are lovers of peace. These, our teachers, are not only our friends; but we consider and love them as our flesh and blood. Now, as we are your cousin, we most earnestly beg of you, uncle, that you also would consider them as your own body, and as your cousin. We and they make but one body, and therefore cannot be separated; and whatever you do unto them, you do unto us, whether it be good or evil." Here he delivered a second string of wampum, several fathoms in length, when the Half-king of the Hurons replied, that these words had penetrated his heart, and that he would immediately consult with his warriors concerning them. Having done this, he returned the following answer to the deputies:

"Cousins! I am very glad and feel great satisfaction, that you have cleansed my eyes, ears, and heart from all evil, conveyed into me by the wind on this journey. I am upon an expedition of an unusual kind; for I am a warrior, and am going to war; and therefore many evil things and evil thoughts enter into my head, and even into my heart. But thanks to my cousin, my eyes are now clear, so that I can behold him with a serene coun-



tenance. I rejoice that I can hear my cousins with open ears, and take their words to heart." Having here delivered a string of wampum, and repeated all the words of the deputies relative to the missionaries, he expressed his approbation of them, and then added, "Go on as hitherto, and suffer no one to molest you. Obey your teachers, who speak nothing but good unto you, and instruct you in the ways of God, and be not afraid that any harm shall be done unto them. No creature shall hurt them. Attend to your worship, and never mind other affairs. Indeed, you see us going to war; but you may remain quiet and easy."

During these negotiations, the Brethren at Lichtenau were under strong apprehensions respecting the issue of this embassy. It had, indeed, been agreed, that should the Half-king speak in a rough angry tone, the deputies should instantly send a messenger at full speed to that place, that so the congregation might have an opportunity of taking flight before he concluded his speech. As their apprehensions were so strong, their joy was proportionally the greater, when the negotiation took so favourable a turn. Every heart was filled with gratitude and praise to God, who had so graciously heard the numberless prayers which were presented to him at this critical juncture.

The Half-king and his warriors came the same day to Lichtenau, and behaved in a very friendly manner. He was joined by a great number of other savages, Hurons, Iroquois, Ottaways, Chippeways, Shawanose, Wampanose, Pitawontakas, and some Frenchmen; but yet he maintained good order, and would allow no extravagance among



them. He was particularly careful to prevent all drunkenness, knowing that it would soon be followed by murder and bloodshed, and other crimes. Sometimes two hundred of the warriors lay all night in the neighbourhood of Lichtenau; and though they behaved with wonderful quietness, considering they were savages, yet the maintenance of such a number of people, many of whom came dancing before the houses, asking for bread and tobacco, proved extremely troublesome. The inhabitants were therefore happy when they took their departure, especially as so much rum had lately been imported from Pittsburg into that part of the country, that the whole neighbourhood became one scene of drunkenness and riot.

The dangers to which the missionaries in particular were now exposed, were so numerous and so great, that it was judged expedient that most of them should for the present leave the Indian country, and retire to Bethlehem. Two only remained behind, Zeisberger at Lichtenau, and Edwards at Gnadenhuetten, places twenty miles distant from each other. They, however, paid mutual visits to one another, participating most cordially in each other's joys and sorrows; and though they saw nothing before them but troubles, and hardships, and dangers, they determined to remain with their beloved Indian congregation, even though it should cost the sacrifice of their life. Both they and their people, indeed, were kept in continual alarm, by the rumours which were daily circulated through the country. One day, they heard that an American general had arrived at Pittsburg, who would give no quarter to the Indians, whether friends or



foes, being resolved to root them all out of the country; and it was said, that several plans were formed for destroying Lichtenau and Gnadenhuetten, and other Delaware towns. One rumour after another proclaimed the approach of the Americans: and as the Christian Indians were resolved to take no part in the war, they had no other resource, but to prepare for flight. A spot of ground on the banks of a neighbouring river was pitched on, as a place of rendezvous for the two congregations; and every family packed up their goods, to be ready to fly on the first emergency. One night, an express arrived at both the settlements, with an account of the approach of the enemy. The two congregations immediately fled with their teachers, in canoes; and, indeed, it was with such precipitation, that they left the greater part of their goods behind them. They met at the place appointed, and there encamped, expecting every hour to hear of a bloody engagement in the neighbourhood of Lichtenau. Happily, however, before daybreak, they received intelligence, that what had been taken for an American army, was nothing more than a great number of horses in the woods. Soon after, indeed, a troop of American freebooters set off, contrary to the express orders of the governor of Pittsburg, to destroy the Delaware towns, and of course the missionary settlements among the rest; but being met by the Half-king of the Hurons and his warriors, they were entirely defeated, and the greater part of them slain. <sup>x</sup>

The Hurons, who were in the interest of Eng-

<sup>x</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 123, 127.



land, continued to carry on hostilities against the Americans; and the most dismal accounts were received from time to time of the ravages and murders committed by them and other Indians in the plantations of the White settlers. The missionaries were often shocked to behold the savage warriors, on their return from their murderous expeditions, leading captive men, women, and children; or what was still more distressing, carrying their dead bodies and scalps through the town. The Christian Indians shewed great compassion to the unfortunate prisoners, supplied them with food, and would never suffer them to be scourged or abused in any form in the settlement, as is the Indian custom, whenever warriors pass through a town with captives. The savages were often mightily incensed at this compassionate prohibition, yet nevertheless they had to yield. Among the prisoners, there was an old man of a venerable appearance, together with two youths. The Christian Indians greatly commiserated his situation, and offered a large sum to the warriors for his ransom, but all was of no avail. When the savages arrived in their own town, the two youths were tortured and burnt alive, according to the usual manner in which the Indians treat their unfortunate prisoners. The old man was condemned to a similar fate; but being informed of this by a child, he contrived to make his escape, and fled into the woods. The savages pursued him; but happily he eluded their search, and reached the neighbourhood of Lichtenau in safety. He was able, however, to proceed no farther, as he was quite exhausted with fatigue and hunger, having eaten nothing but grass for ten days. Here one of



the Christian Indians found him, lying in the woods more like a corpse than a living creature. Being brought, though with much difficulty, to the settlement, the poor man was there taken care of, and after his recovery, was conveyed in safety to Pittsburg.

During this period many troops of warriors were prevailed on by the friendly persuasions of the Christian Indians to relinquish their murderous designs, and to return to their homes, by which means much bloodshed was happily prevented. By the influence of the missionaries and the congregation, the Delaware chiefs were confirmed in their resolution to take no part in the war, notwithstanding the threats as well as entreaties of the governor of Detroit; and by the neutrality of the Delawares, many other Indian tribes were kept at peace, being unwilling to offend their Grandfather, as they called that powerful nation. The government at Pittsburg acknowledged the deportment of the Indian congregation to be a benefit to the whole country; and Colonel Morgan observed, with gratitude, that the fury of the Indian warriors, was upon the whole, greatly mitigated by the influence of their Christian countrymen.

At length, however, the Delaware Indians, seduced by the arts of the English, took up arms against the colonies. Now they not only ceased to be the friends of the missionaries and the congregation, but, by degrees, they became their enemies, considering them as a check on their behaviour, and a hinderance to the accomplishment of their designs. As the Indians in league with England had resolved, in a council held at Detroit, that



the hatchet should fall on the head of every one who refused to accept of it, and as those in the interest of the colonies had taken a similar resolution, the Christian Indians were now placed between two cruel and inexorable enemies, so that there seemed nothing before them, but inevitable destruction. Agreeably to their late resolution, the Delaware chiefs sent messages to the young men to take up arms; but as they refused to do it, the missionaries were in the utmost danger, the refusal being ascribed solely to their influence and authority. The savages threatened either to kill the Brethren, or to carry them off prisoners, hoping that if they were removed, the Indian congregation would be obliged to comply with all their demands.

In consequence of the confusion and anarchy which prevailed throughout the whole country, considerable changes had taken place in the settlements of the Brethren. Not only was Schoenbrunn, deserted by the faithful part of the congregation, but it was afterwards judged necessary to abandon Gnadenhuetten also, and to concentrate the whole mission in Lichtenau. As this place, however, was soon over-crowded with inhabitants, it was agreed that part of them should return to Gnadenhuetten, and that Schoenbrunn, should be rebuilt, though not on the same spot as before, but on the opposite side of the river. Lichtenau, which had hitherto been the safest place of residence for the Christian Indians, became so exposed to the outrages of the savages, that it was at length judged necessary to leave it also, and to build a new settlement, which



they called Salem, about five miles below Gnadenuhuetten.<sup>y</sup>

In the midst of these external trials, the internal state of the congregation was of the most pleasing nature. The progress of vital religion among them was so apparent, that the missionaries forgot all their sorrows in the joy which this afforded them. Notwithstanding the disturbances occasioned by the daily marching of the warriors through their settlements, the congregation never lost their confidence in God, but were led by these various trials to cleave more closely to him, and to unite more cordially in the bonds of brotherly affection. It was peculiarly pleasing to witness the spirit of forgiveness which they displayed toward their enemies, particularly to the apostates in the congregation of Schoenbrunn. Notwithstanding the hatred and malice which these unhappy people manifested toward them, yet they would never consider them as enemies, but as brethren who had wandered from the paths of purity and peace. Nor were their prayers in behalf of them in vain. Most of the wanderers, especially the young people, returned like the prodigal son, acknowledged their guilt, and earnestly begged for admission into the bosom of the congregation. Their request was granted in the presence of the whole assembly, whose tears of compassion, gratitude, and joy, on such occasions, furnished an interesting example of that brotherly love which characterizes and ennobles the followers of Christ.<sup>z</sup>

For some time, the Christian Indians enjoyed

<sup>y</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 132, 137.

<sup>z</sup> Ibid. Part III. p. 129, 139, 145.



peace and rest in their new settlements, scarcely seeing any thing of the horrors of war, except that the warriors occasionally passed through their towns. But this period of tranquillity was of short duration. Colonel De Peyster, the English governor of Fort Detroit, having taken up a suspicion that the Christian Indians were partisans of the Americans, and that the missionaries were spies who carried on a secret correspondence with them, determined at last to rid himself of neighbours whom he considered as so troublesome and dangerous. With this view, a proposal was made to several of the Indian tribes to carry off the missionaries and the congregation, but the service was so invidious, that each of them declined it. At length, however, the Half-king of the Hurons, instigated by Captain Pipe, one of the Delaware chiefs, and a violent enemy of the mission, agreed to make the attempt, though even he declared that he did it to save the Christian Indians from destruction.

In August 1781, the Half-king came to the neighbourhood of the Brethren's settlements, accompanied by an English officer, Pipe the Delaware chief, and upwards of three hundred warriors. They all behaved, at first, in a friendly manner; but when they made known their commission, the congregation expressed their resolution to remain where they were. The warriors, therefore, endeavoured to decoy them, by describing the country to which they proposed to carry them as a perfect paradise, and unfortunately they were too successful in making an impression on the minds of some who were unacquainted with their artifice and cunning. This occasioned the Brethren great perplexity and



distress, but yet they determined not to follow the savages unless by compulsion, that so if the congregation was involved in ruin, they might not have to reproach themselves on account of it.

The Half-king of the Hurons, it is probable, would not have urged the proposal further, had he not been pressed by Captain Pipe and the English officer, to employ coercive and even violent measures, alleging, that if he returned to Detroit without the missionaries, the governor would be highly dissatisfied. Besides some of the congregation proved unfaithful, and even insinuated to the savages, that if they only seized upon the Brethren and carried them off, the rest of the people would quickly follow. Others were so simple, that when asked, Whether they would go with the Half-king? they replied: "We look to our teachers; what they do, we will do likewise." Thus the whole blame fell upon the missionaries, who, in consequence of this, became the chief object of the resentment of the savages. The heads of the party had several consultations, in which, as some of them afterwards related, they resolved to murder all the White Brethren and Sisters, and likewise the Indian assistants. Before, however, they carried their bloody purpose into execution, they wished to know the opinion of a common warrior, who was much esteemed among them as a sorcerer; and as he was decidedly against the proposal, and even threatened them with his displeasure if they persisted in it, they laid aside the design for the present.

The savages, however, now became more bold and outrageous in their behaviour than before. Though they were supplied by the congregation with as



much meat as they could eat, and nothing in fact was denied them, yet they wantonly shot the cattle and pigs on the road, and would not even suffer the carcasses to be taken away, so that the place was soon filled with an intolerable stench. Small parties of them likewise made inroads into the neighbouring country, and brought their prisoners to Gnadenhuetten, thus converting that seat of industry and peace into a theatre of pillage and war.

The missionaries and the Indian assistants being summoned before a council of war, the Half-king of the Hurons asked them, Whether they would go with him or not, and insisted on their giving him an immediate answer, without even allowing them to retire and consult about it. But as the Brethren represented to him the distress in which the congregation would be involved, should they proceed to any considerable distance into the wilderness without a supply of the necessaries of life, and begged him to allow them time to reap the crop which was then on the ground, the assembly broke up without further debate. Immediately after, the missionaries were seized by a party of Huron warriors, and declared prisoners. As the savages dragged them off into the camp, one of the Hurons aimed a stroke at the head of Senseman the missionary, with a lance, but providentially he missed it. Upon this a M<sup>onsy</sup> Indian approached them, and seizing them by the hair of the head, shook them, saying: "Welcome among us, my friends!" They then led them into the camp of the Delawares, where they sung over them the death song, stript them naked to their shirts, and secured them in two huts. Here the Brethren had to sit on the bare ground, without



clothes, without blankets, without any thing to screen them from the cold at night, except a few rags. They were not bound, however, like other prisoners, but only carefully watched.

After they were secured in the huts, they saw a number of armed warriors march off for Salem and Schoenbrunn, and the dread of what their families might suffer from these barbarians was a greater distress to them than all they themselves had endured. On their arrival, the savages, after plundering the mission houses in both the settlements, brought away such of the missionaries as remained, together with all their wives and children, as prisoners of war, and on the road they sung over them the death song. Michael Jung, one of the Brethren, narrowly escaped being killed by a tomahawk, which an Indian aimed at his head. But no one was more to be pitied than Mrs. Senseman. She had been delivered of a child only three days before, yet now she was hurried from home with the infant at her breast, by these merciless barbarians, in a dark and rainy night. Happily, however, neither she nor the child suffered the smallest injury. Indeed, it was a providential circumstance that she was able to walk; for had she been too weak to follow them, it is probable they would instantly have murdered both her and the infant, agreeably to their usual practice on such occasions. When the Brethren Zeisberger and Senseman beheld their wives led captive by the savages, it is impossible to conceive or describe the agonizing sensations which convulsed their breasts.

On the following day, the prisoners obtained permission to visit each other. On this occasion, a



scene was exhibited so tender and melting, that even the merciless savages seemed struck with astonishment, remorse, and sorrow. The sisters, who, under all their trials, behaved with wonderful composure and resignation, were soon set at liberty, together with one of the missionaries; but as their habitations were almost destroyed, they went to lodge in the house of another of the Brethren, named Shebosh, who had not been taken prisoner, being considered as an Indian, as he had completely adopted the Indian mode of life, and married a native woman. Here the prisoners were occasionally allowed to see their friends, and they also had liberty to visit them in return. Meanwhile, the savages were strutting about in the clothes they had taken from the missionaries, and even compelled their wives to make them shirts of the linen of which they had robbed them.

At the commencement of these disasters, the conduct of the Christian Indians was like that of the disciples of Christ; they forsook their teachers and fled. On arriving in the woods, they lifted up their voices and wept so loud, that the air resounded with their lamentations. They soon, indeed, recovered from the panic which had seized them on the first appearance of danger. Having collected their courage, they returned and recovered many articles belonging to the missionaries out of the hands of the robbers, or they generously paid for them, in order to restore them to the rightful owners. They used to carry blankets to the prisoners late in the evening, to cover them during the night, and early in the morning they brought them away, lest they should be stolen by the savages in



the course of the day. Some had even the courage to enter the camp by day, to seize the booty of the savages, and to carry it off by main force.

After keeping the Brethren prisoners for several days, the leaders of the savages perceived that the Christian Indians would never be persuaded to forsake their settlements, unless they were conducted by their teachers; and, therefore, they called the missionaries before them, declared them at liberty, and advised them to encourage the congregation to emigrate to another part of the country. The Brethren now returned to their beloved flock at Salem, full of gratitude and praise to God for their merciful deliverance. Here they administered the Lord's Supper to them, during which they enjoyed extraordinary tokens of the divine presence, and exhorted their people to remain faithful in the hour of trial. After they had refreshed themselves for some days, about a hundred of the savages, who had constantly watched their motions and surrounded them at some distance, entered the town, and behaved like so many madmen, committing the most daring outrages. The missionaries now perceived that there was no alternative left them but to emigrate, and therefore proposed it to the congregation, who readily acquiesced in the measure.<sup>a</sup>

Never, however, did they forsake any country with so much regret. They were now obliged to leave three beautiful settlements, and the greater part of their property behind them. They had already lost upwards of two hundred black cattle, and four hundred hogs; but, besides this, they had

<sup>a</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 149.



to abandon great quantities of Indian corn in their stores, upwards of three hundred acres of land, where the crop was just ripening, together with potatoes, cabbage, and other garden stuffs in the ground. Their loss, according to a moderate calculation, was not less than twelve thousand dollars, a large sum certainly to belong chiefly to Indians, and a striking proof of the improvements which the missionaries had introduced among them. But what gave them most concern of all, was the total loss of the books and manuscripts which they had compiled, with immense care and labour, for the instruction of the Indian youth, all of which were now burnt by the savages. Besides, they had nothing before them but the prospect of trials and disappointments, of hardships, difficulties, and dangers. But there was no help for this. They could only possess their souls in patience, and commit their way to God, in the hope that he would command deliverance for them.

On leaving their settlements on the Muskingum, they were escorted by a troop of savages, who were commanded by an English officer, and enclosed them on all hands, at the distance of some miles. They went partly by land, partly by water. Some of the canoes sunk, and those who were in them lost all their provisions, and whatever else they carried with them. Those who went by land, drove the cattle before them, having collected a considerable herd of these animals from two of their settlements. The Brethren and their wives usually travelled in the midst of their beloved people. One morning, however, when the Christian Indians could not set off so expeditiously as their conductors



thought proper, the savages attacked the missionaries, and forced them away alone, whipped their horses forward till the animals became quite unmanageable, and would not even allow the women to suckle their infant children. The road too was extremely bad, being through one continued swamp. Zeisberger's wife fell twice from her horse, and in one of these instances, was dragged for some time, hanging in the stirrup; but through the kindness of Providence she was mercifully preserved. Some of the Christian Indians followed them as hard as they could, but with all their exertions they did not overtake them till night; and hence the missionaries and their families were not delivered out of the hands of the merciless savages till next morning. But though the journey was extremely irksome, they all travelled along with the utmost resignation and patience. Not one left the congregation, not one laid the blame of their troubles and losses upon others; no dissatisfaction, no disunion arose among them. They adhered to each other as brethren and friends, rejoicing in God their Saviour, and even held their daily meetings upon the road.

Having arrived at Sandusky Creek, after a journey of upwards of four weeks, the Half-king of the Hurons and his warriors left them, and marched into their own country, without giving them any particular orders how to proceed. Thus, they were abandoned in a wilderness where there was neither game nor provisions of any description; for such was the place to which the barbarians had led them, notwithstanding they had represented it as a perfect paradise. After wandering to and fro for some time, they resolved to spend the winter in



Upper Sandusky; and having pitched on the most convenient spot they could find in this dreary region, they erected small huts of logs and bark to shelter themselves from the rain and the cold. They were now, however, so poor, that they had neither beds nor blankets; for, on the journey, the savages had stolen every thing from them, except their utensils for manufacturing maple sugar. But nothing distressed them so much as the want of provisions. Some had long spent their all, and now depended on the charity of their neighbours for a morsel to eat. Even the missionaries who hitherto had uniformly gained a livelihood by the labour of their hands, were now reduced to the necessity of receiving support from the congregation. As their wants were so urgent, Shebosh the missionary, and several of the Christian Indians, returned as soon as possible to their settlements on the Muskingum, in order to fetch the Indian corn which they had left growing in the fields.

Scarcely had the congregation begun to settle in this place, when the missionaries were ordered to come and appear before the Governor of Fort Detroit. Four of them, accompanied by several of the Indian assistants, accordingly set off without delay, while the other two remained with their little flock. On taking their departure, they experienced the most agonizing sensations, partly, as they knew not what might be the issue of the journey, and partly, as they were obliged to leave their families in want of the common necessities of life. As they travelled chiefly by land along the banks of Lake Erie, they had to pass through numerous swamps, over large inundated plains, and through thick



forests. But the most painful circumstance of all was this, that they heard that some of the Indians who had gone to the Muskingum to fetch corn, had been murdered by the White people, and that a large body of the same miscreants were marching to Sandusky to surprise the new settlement. This report, indeed, was not correct. Shebosh the missionary, and five of the Christian Indians, were, it is true, taken prisoners at Schoenbrunn, and carried to Pittsburg. The others returned safe to Sandusky, with about four hundred bushels of Indian corn, which they had gathered in the fields. But as our travellers did not hear a correct statement of these circumstances until afterwards, they, in the meanwhile, suffered the most exquisite anxiety and distress.

Having arrived at Detroit, they appeared before the Governor, in order to answer to the accusations brought against them of holding a correspondence with the Americans to the prejudice of the English. The investigation, however, was deferred till Captain Pipe, their principal accuser, should arrive, a circumstance which could not but give them much uneasiness, as he had hitherto shewn himself their bitter and determined enemy. They had no friend on earth to interpose in their behalf; but they had a friend in Heaven in whom they put their trust. Nor was their confidence in him in vain. On the day of trial, Captain Pipe, after some ceremonies had passed between him and Colonel De Peyster, respecting the scalps and prisoners which he had brought from the United States, rose and addressed the Governor as follows: "Father, you commanded us to bring the believing



Indians, and their teachers from the Muskingum. This has been done. When we had brought them to Sandusky, you ordered us to bring their teachers and some of their chiefs unto you. Here you see them before you. Now you may speak with them yourself as you have desired. But I hope you will speak good words unto them: Yea, I tell you, speak good words unto them, for they are my friends, and I should be sorry to see them ill-used." These last words he repeated two or three times. In reply to this speech, the Governor enumerated to him the various complaints he had made against the Brethren, and called upon him to prove that they had actually corresponded with the Americans to the prejudice of the English. To this the chief replied, that such a thing might have happened; but they would do it no more, as they were now at Detroit. The governor, justly dissatisfied with this answer, peremptorily demanded that he should give a direct reply to his question. Pipe was now greatly embarrassed, began to shift and shuffle, and, bending to his counsellors, asked them, What he should say? But they all hung their heads in silence. On a sudden, however, he rose, and thus addressed the Governor: "I said before that such a thing might have happened: Now I will tell you the truth. The missionaries are innocent. They have done nothing of themselves. What they did, they were compelled to do." Then smiting his breast, he added: "I am to blame, and the chiefs who were with me. We forced them to do it when they refused;" alluding to the correspondence between the Delaware chiefs and the Americans, of which the missionaries were the innocent medium. Thus



the Brethren found an advocate and a friend in their accuser and their enemy.

After making some further inquiries concerning them, the Governor declared, before the whole court, that the Brethren were innocent of all the charges alleged against them; that he felt great satisfaction in their endeavours to civilize and Christianize the Indians; and that he would permit them to return to their congregation without delay. He even offered them the use of his own house in the most friendly manner; and as they had been plundered, contrary to his express command, he ordered them to be supplied with clothes, and various other articles of which they stood in need. He even bought them four watches which the savages had taken from them, and which they had sold to a trader. After experiencing various other acts of kindness from him, they returned to Sandusky, and were received with inexpressible joy, by their families and the whole congregation, who had been under strong apprehensions that they would be detained prisoners at Detroit.<sup>b</sup>

The congregation at Sandusky were still in extreme want of provisions, and at length famine, with all its horrors, appeared among them. Often they knew not to-day what they should eat to-morrow. At Christmas, they could not as usual observe the Lord's Supper, as they had neither bread nor wine. The cattle of which they possessed considerable herds, had no forage, so that such of them as were not killed for food perished of hunger. Provisions were not to be had even for money; or

<sup>b</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 161.



if any were bought in other places, it was at a most exorbitant price. Many of the poor lived on wild potatoes ; and, at last, their want was so extreme, that they greedily devoured the carcasses of the horses and cattle, which were starved to death. In this wretched situation, they had a visit from the Half-king of the Hurons, with a number of his warriors and some White people. As they were not able to furnish their guests with a meal, one of the assistants went to the chief, and informed him that no meat was to be had except the flesh of dead cattle, representing, at the same time, the contrast between their present adverse circumstances, and their former prosperous situation, when they afforded him and his followers an abundant supply of whatever they needed. The king appeared to be struck with the reproof, and went away in silence. But many of the Indians, with all the barbarity natural to savages, when they came to Sandusky, and beheld such numbers of cattle lying dead on the ground, laughed at the melancholy spectacle, reviled their Christian countrymen, and expressed the utmost joy at their sufferings : “ Now,” said they, “ you are become like us, and certainly you deserve not to fare better.”

Impelled by the severity of the famine, several parties of the Christian Indians went from Sandusky to the settlements on the Muskingum to fetch provisions, as it was reported there was now no danger in that quarter of the country. In this, however, they were awfully mistaken. That quarter now became the theatre of a catastrophe, which perhaps has scarcely a parallel in the annals of treachery and murder. The governor of Pittsburg



having released the Christian Indians, who, together with Shebosh, the missionary, had been taken prisoners at Schoenbrunn; this act of common justice and humanity mightily incensed some of those fanatics, who, as we have already mentioned, represented the Indians as a kind of Canaanites, whom it was a duty to exterminate from the face of the earth. Having heard that many of the Christian Indians came occasionally from Sandusky to the Muskingum for provisions, a band of these ruffians, about one hundred and sixty in number, determined to murder these poor people, to destroy their settlements, and then to march to Sandusky, and cut off the rest of the congregation. Colonel Gibson at Pittsburg having heard of this barbarous plot, sent messengers to the Christian Indians on the Muskingum to apprize them of their danger; but it was too late before they arrived. The Indians, however, received information of the approach of the White people, from a different quarter, in time enough to have saved themselves by flight; but though, on other occasions, they used to manifest the utmost caution and timidity, yet, at this time, they showed no signs of fear, apprehending that they had nothing to dread from the Americans, but only from the savages.<sup>c</sup>

In March 1782, the conspirators arrived at Gnadenhuetten. About a mile from the settlement, they met the son of Shebosh, the missionary, in the woods, and having fired at him, wounded him in such a manner, that it was impossible for him to escape. In vain did he implore his life; in vain did

<sup>c</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 169, 170, 175.



he represent that he was the son of a White Christian man. They were deaf to all his entreaties, and cruelly cut him in pieces with their hatchets. They then came to the Indians, most of whom were gathering the corn in their plantations, accosted them in a friendly manner, and told them to go home, promising to do them no injury. They even pretended to pity them, on account of the mischiefs they had suffered from the English and the savages, and assured them of the protection and friendship of the Americans. The poor simple Indians believed every word, returned with them to the town, and treated them in the most hospitable manner. Having informed their visitors, that a small barrel of wine, which was found among their goods, was designed for the Lord's Supper, and that they were to carry it with them to Sandusky, the ruffians told them, that they should not return thither, but go with them to Pittsburg, where they would be in no danger either from the English or the savages. This proposal the Indians heard with resignation, hoping that God might by this means put a period to their present sufferings, which were so numerous and severe. Prepossessed with this idea, they cheerfully delivered up their guns, their hatchets, and their other weapons to the conspirators, who promised to take care of them; and, on their arrival at Pittsburg, to return every article to its rightful owner. The poor unsuspecting creatures even showed them all those articles which they had secreted in the woods, assisted in packing them up, and thus emptied all their stores into the hands of this band of miscreants.

Meanwhile, John Martin, one of the Indian as-



sistants, went to Salem, with the news of the arrival of the White people, to his Christian countrymen in that town, and assured them they need not be afraid to go with them, as they were come to conduct them to a place of safety. The Indians at Salem did not hesitate to accept of the proposal, believing unanimously that God had sent the Americans to release them from their present disagreeable situation at Sandusky, and imagining that when they arrived at Pittsburg, they might soon find a place to build a new settlement, and easily procure assistance from Bethlehem. John Martin accordingly returned to Gnadenhuetten, accompanied by two of them, to acquaint both their Brethren and the White people with their resolution. The ruffians having expressed a desire to see Salem, a party of them were conducted thither, and received with the utmost hospitality. Here they professed the same attachment to the Indians as at Gnadenhuetten, and easily persuaded the poor creatures to go with them to that place. With the hypocrisy of consummate villains, they feigned great piety by the way, entered into much spiritual conversation with the converts, some of whom spoke English well, and gave very scriptural and suitable answers to many questions which these miscreants proposed to them on religious subjects.

Having by such base hypocritical arts completely deceived the unsuspecting Indians, the bloodthirsty villains, at length threw off the mask, and displayed their character in its true colours. In the meanwhile, they had attacked the poor defenceless inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten, and bound them without resistance. The Indians from Salem now



shared a similar fate. Before they entered the town, they were suddenly surprised by their conductors, robbed of their guns, and even of their pocket knives, and brought bound into the settlement. The conspirators now met in council, and resolved by a majority of votes to murder them all the following day. Such as opposed this barbarous resolution wrung their hands, and called God to witness that they were innocent of the blood of these harmless Indians. But the majority were inflexible, and only differed concerning the mode of the execution. Some were for burning them, and others for scalping them in cold blood. Either mode was shocking to humanity ; but the latter was, at length, fixed upon ; and one of the council was sent to the prisoners, to tell them, that as they were Christian Indians, they might prepare themselves for death in a Christian manner, for that they must all die on the morrow.

This message, so dreadful and unexpected, at first struck the Indians, as might naturally be supposed, with extreme horror. They soon, however, recollected themselves, and patiently suffered their enemies to lead them into two houses, in one of which the men, and in the other the women and children, were confined like sheep for the slaughter. Their last night on earth they spent in prayer, and in exhorting each other to remain faithful unto death ; and, as the morning approached, they employed themselves in singing the praises of God their Saviour, in the joyful hope of soon joining the choir of the redeemed in heaven.

When the day of execution arrived, the murderers fixed on two houses, one for the men, the



other for the women and children, to which they wantonly gave the name of slaughter-houses. Some of them even came to the prisoners, manifesting great impatience, that the execution was not yet begun. No time, however, was now lost. The carnage immediately commenced, and presented so shocking a scene, that humanity must shudder at the melancholy tale. The poor innocent creatures, men, women, and children, were bound with ropes, two and two together. They were then led into the slaughter-houses appointed for them. There they were scalped and murdered in cold blood, by those demons in human form. In this horrid manner, perished no fewer than ninety-six persons, among whom were five of the most valuable assistants, and thirty-four children! According to the testimony of the murderers themselves, they behaved with wonderful patience, and met death with cheerful resignation. The miscreants even acknowledged, that they were good Indians: "for," said they, "they sung and prayed to their latest breath."

Of the whole number of Indians at Gnadenhuetten and Salem, only two youths escaped; and indeed, their escape was little less than miraculous. One of them was so fortunate as to disengage himself, from his bonds; then slipping unobserved from the crowd, he crept through a narrow window into the cellar of the house, where the women and children were slaughtered. He had not been long there, when their blood penetrated through the floor, and, according to his account, ran in streams into the cellar, a circumstance which renders it probable, that they were not only scalped but despatched with hatchets or swords. Here he lurked



till night, no one coming down to search the cellar; and then, though with much difficulty, he climbed up the wall to the window, and fled into a neighbouring thicket. The escape of the other youth was still more singular. The murderers gave him only one blow on the head, cut off his scalp, and then left him. After some time, he recovered his senses, and beheld himself surrounded by bleeding corpses. In the midst of these, he observed one of the converts, named Abel, moving, and attempting to raise himself up. But he lay perfectly still, as though he had been dead, a caution which proved the means of his deliverance; for, shortly after, one of the murderers came in, and perceiving Abel's motions, killed him outright with two or three blows. Our youth lay quiet till dark, though suffering the most exquisite torment from his wounds. He then ventured to creep to the door, and having observed nobody in the neighbourhood, he escaped into the wood, where he lay concealed during the night. Here the two lads met with each other; and before they left their retreat, they saw the demons, with a ferocious insensibility, making merry after the accomplishment of their diabolical enterprise; and at last set fire to the two slaughter-houses, filled with the corpses of their innocent victims.

While the Christian Indians at Gnadenhuetten and Salem were in this manner inhumanly butchered, those at Schoenbrunn providentially escaped. As they had occasion to send a message to Gnadenhuetten, the bearer of it, before he reached that place, found young Shebosh lying dead on the ground; and looking forward, he saw a number of White people about the town. Alarmed by this



discovery, he fled back to Schoenbrunn with great precipitation, and told the Indians what he had seen. Upon this, they all took flight, and ran into the woods, so that when the monsters arrived at the town, they found nobody in it; and though the Indians lay concealed in the neighbourhood, yet happily they escaped undiscovered. Having, therefore, set fire to the three settlements, the ruffians marched off with the scalps of their innocent victims, about fifty horses, and such other parts of their property as they chose to carry with them.<sup>d</sup>

In the meanwhile, the missionaries at Sandusky were not without their trials. In the congregation itself, there arose some false brethren, who, having relapsed into the paths of sin, endeavoured to introduce their heathenish practices among their Christian countrymen. They would not even leave the settlement, but stopped in defiance of all remonstrances, were enraged when kindly reproofed, and went among the neighbouring Pagans, trying to exasperate them against the missionaries. Besides, though the governor of Detroit had promised that the Brethren should not be molested in their labours, yet this was an engagement he was not able to fulfil. Soon after their return to Sandusky, some of the principal Delaware chiefs expressed their surprise, that he should have permitted them to depart, and thus disappointed their hopes of getting rid of persons whom they deemed so troublesome. Hitherto, however, the governor had found means to pacify them by the wisdom and firmness of his conduct. But now the Half-king

<sup>d</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 177.



of the Hurons again took part against them. Two of his sons, who had lately gone on a murdering expedition, having both been killed, he foolishly ascribed their death to the intrigues of the Brethren, and determined to be revenged upon them. Besides, with the dread natural to a guilty conscience, he lived in perpetual apprehension that the Christian Indians, if they were suffered to remain in a body, might revenge on him the many injuries which they and their teachers had lately suffered. To disperse them, therefore, was a great object with him ; and he knew nothing so likely to accomplish this, as to take their instructors from them. Influenced in part, perhaps, by his insidious representations, the governor of Detroit now sent an order to him, and an English officer in his company, to bring all the missionaries and their families to that place, but with strict charges not to plunder or abuse them.<sup>e</sup>

This order was like a thunderbolt to the missionaries ; death itself would not have been so terrible. To forsake their congregation, whom they loved as their own souls ; to leave them exposed to all the fury of their enemies, or to be scattered in the wilderness among the Heathen, wrung their hearts with inexpressible anguish. It was vain, however, to resist. The slightest remonstrance might have subjected them to plunder and abuse, and could not be of the smallest service. When this order was communicated to the congregation, a most tender and affecting scene was exhibited among them. The poor Indians were dissolved in tears.

<sup>e</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 171.



All broke forth into the most bitter lamentations ; all exclaimed that they were left as sheep without a shepherd. This could not fail to aggravate the distress of the missionaries ; it pierced them like a dagger to the heart ; it almost overwhelmed their spirit. As yet they had heard nothing of the tragical catastrophe on the Muskingum ; but, on the day before their departure, the awful report reached them. A warrior who came from that part of the country, related that all the Indians, who were found in the deserted settlements seeking provisions, had been taken prisoners by the Americans, carried off to Pittsburg, and some of them murdered. This report, though it by no means amounted to the whole extent of the evil, was yet dismal enough to aggravate beyond conception the anxiety and distress of the missionaries. Thus overwhelmed with grief and sorrow, they took leave of their beloved Indian congregation ; and in parting with them, suffered, as it were, the agony of a thousand deaths. Zeisberger, after exhorting them with all the tenderness of a father, to remain faithful unto death, kneeled down and gave thanks to God, for all the spiritual mercies he had bestowed upon them in the midst of external misery, and commended them to his protection and love, till they should meet each other again, either here on earth, or before the throne in heaven. The Brethren now set off on their journey, believing one part of their beloved congregation to be murdered, another part imprisoned, and the rest in danger of dispersion. They were accompanied a considerable way by a great number of their disconsolate people, weeping as they went ; and by some as far as Lower



Sandusky, where they arrived after suffering many hardships and inconveniences. Here they had to remain for some time, until the arrival of the vessels which were to carry them forward. During their stay at this place, they were visited by the English officer, who was appointed to conduct them to Detroit; but instead of treating them with civility, he behaved toward them like a perfect madman, and with horrid oaths, repeatedly threatened to fracture their skulls with a hatchet. He then sat drinking the whole night in the house where he lodged, raving more wildly than any drunken savage. The vessels, however, at length arrived with a written order, to treat the missionaries with all possible kindness; and, in case of stormy weather, not to endanger their life in crossing the lake; adding at the same time, that should any person do them the smallest injury, he should be called to account for his conduct.<sup>f</sup>

Having, at length, reached Detroit, they were soon after visited by the governor, who assured them, that though many new accusations had been brought against them, yet he was perfectly convinced of their innocence; and had not sent for them on that account, but merely to provide for their safety, as he had received certain intelligence, that they were in the utmost danger of their life as long as they remained at Sandusky. He further left it entirely to themselves, either to stay at Detroit or to go to Bethlehem; and, in the meanwhile, he gave orders that they should be supplied with whatever they needed.

<sup>f</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 174, 185.



Meanwhile, the Indian congregation was reduced to the very brink of ruin. After the departure of the missionaries, the assistants, indeed, continued to meet and exhort their countrymen in the usual regular manner. An English trader who visited Sandusky, and was present at several of their meetings, related that he heard them sing hymns and exhort each other till they wept together like children. But pleasing as was this account, some false brethren now arose, and displayed the perfidy of their hearts. They ascribed to the missionaries all the misfortunes of the congregation; they attributed to them the massacre of their countrymen on the Muskingum; and they even asserted, that, conscious of their guilt, they had now taken care to go off in safety. These absurd allegations, though reprobated by the faithful part of the congregation, produced no small confusion among them. Besides, the Half-king of the Hurons could not rest while the Christian Indians remained in a body in his neighbourhood. He therefore sent them a peremptory order to quit their present residence, and to seek an asylum in some other part of the country. It seemed, indeed, as if no place was left where the poor Indians might have rest for the soles of their feet. They could expect no protection from the White people, and their own countrymen hunted them as partridges on the mountains. For the present, therefore, they resolved to separate, as it seemed vain to make further resistance. One part, accordingly, retired into the country of the Shawanose, the rest stayed for sometime in the neighbourhood of Pipe-town, and then resolved to proceed nearer to the Miami river. Thus there



was a period put for a season to the existence of the Indian congregation.<sup>g</sup>

Here we cannot but remark, that the removal of the congregation from the Muskingum, though a very painful, was in fact, a very merciful circumstance. Had they remained in that part of the country, it is probable they would all have been massacred, whereas more than two thirds of them escaped. A similar observation may be applied to the removal of the missionaries to Detroit, which, at the time, occasioned them so much distress. When they received the governor's orders to repair to that place, they immediately despatched a messenger to the Muskingum to call the Indians home, partly with the view of seeing them once more before their departure, partly for the purpose of getting horses from them for their journey. The bearer of these tidings reached Schoenbrunn the day before the arrival of the murderers at Gnadenhuetten, and when he had delivered his message to the Indians in that place, they sent another person with the news to Gnadenhuetten. It was this messenger, who, as we have already mentioned, found young Shebosh, lying scalped on the ground. Struck with terror at the sight, he immediately fled back to Schoenbrunn, and gave the alarm to the Indians at that place, all of whom, by this means, escaped the dreadful fate of their companions. But the benefit which resulted from the removal of the missionaries to Detroit, did not stop here; it was the mean of saving the Indians at Sandusky, as well as at Schoenbrunn. The gang of murderers who com-

<sup>g</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 187.



mitted the massacre on the Muskingum, had not relinquished their bloody designs against the rest of the congregation. In the course of a few weeks, they marched to Sandusky, there to renew the same horrid catastrophe; but happily on their arrival they found nothing but empty huts. Had not the missionaries been called to Detroit, the congregation would have remained at Sandusky, and in that case would, in all probability, have fallen a sacrifice to the fury of this band of demons, who thirsted for their blood. Soon after this disappointment, these miscreants were attacked by a body of English and Indian warriors, and the greater part of them cut in pieces. Thus they met with that vengeance from the swords of their enemies, which would probably never have been inflicted on them by the laws of their country; a circumstance in which every heart would exult, were it not for the awful consideration that persons whose hands were still reeking with the blood of their murdered victims, were but ill prepared to appear before the tribunal of the Great Judge of all, who has threatened to avenge the death of the innocent.<sup>h</sup>

Notwithstanding the dispersion of the congregation was the means of their preservation from the hands of these bloodthirsty villains, the missionaries could not but feel the utmost anxiety concerning them, now that they were scattered among the Heathen. Instead, therefore, of availing themselves of the liberty which the governor gave them of retiring to Bethlehem, they resolved to stay in the country, and endeavour to collect the remains

<sup>h</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 181, 184, 188.



of their wandering flock. With this view they lost no time in preparing to build a new settlement, in which the Indians might find an asylum. In this design they were kindly assisted by the governor, and through his friendly interposition they obtained a grant of land from the Chippeways, about thirty miles to the northward of Detroit, on the banks of the river Huron. He likewise furnished them with provisions, boats, planks, and such other utensils as were necessary, from the royal stores, and his lady presented them with a valuable assortment of seeds and roots. Having received these seasonable supplies, the missionaries set off for this place, accompanied by a number of the Indians, who had already collected to them. Here they marked out the ground for a new settlement which they called Gnadenhuetten, built themselves houses, and laid out gardens and plantations. At first they were so tormented by the stings of various kinds of insects, particularly musquitoes, that they were constantly obliged to keep up a thick smoke, and to lie in the midst of it, a situation certainly not very agreeable. But the more they cleared the ground of the brushwood with which it was covered, the more the insects decreased in number. They likewise employed themselves in hunting, and bartered the venison and skins for Indian corn and other necessities. They made canoes, baskets, and other articles, for which they found a good market at Detroit. By degrees, more of the dispersed Indians collected to them. They had been in imminent danger of their life in the country of the Shawanose, and escaped only by a precipitate flight. Whenever



any of them passed through Detroit, the governor generously supplied them with food, and, if necessary, with clothing also. Even when the inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten occasionally went thither to fetch provisions, he ordered them to be given to them free of expense until their own crops were ready. Indeed, we may observe, in general, that the British government uniformly manifested particular kindness to the missionaries and their people.

Still, however, the greater part of the congregation remained scattered among the Heathen, particularly in the country of the Twichtwees, about two hundred and fifty miles to the south-west of the new settlement. The missionaries lost no opportunity of sending them verbal messages, inviting them to come and join them; but it often happened that the bearers perverted these messages, and employed every mean in their power to prevent the return of the converts. Some of the chiefs even commanded them, in an authoritative manner, to be resigned to their fate, and to resume the Pagan mode of life: "For now," said they, "not a word of the gospel shall any more be heard in the Indian country." But notwithstanding the means which the savages employed to hinder their return, many of them came back the following spring. Some of these, however, had cause to mourn over the injury they had sustained in their spiritual interests, by their late intercourse with the Heathen; this, indeed grieved them more than all their temporal misfortunes. They were all received with open arms, and treated with the love and compassion due to brethren. Others, through fear, continued to



reside among the savages, and some even relapsed into Paganism.<sup>i</sup>

In the beginning of 1784, there was a very severe frost, attended with a deep fall of snow, extending over the whole of the neighbouring country. As no one expected such a winter, no provision was made either for man or beast. The extraordinary and early night frosts, in the preceding autumn, had destroyed a great part of the promising crop of Indian corn, so that it was not long before the people began to be in want. They were therefore obliged to disperse, and seek a livelihood wherever they could find it; some of them, indeed, lived on nothing but wild herbs. A general famine at length ensued: the hollow eyes and emaciated countenances of the poor people were now sad indications of their distress. Still, however, they appeared cheerful, and resigned to the will of God; and at last it pleased him to relieve their wants. A large herd of deer having strayed into the neighbourhood of Gnadenhuetten, the Indians shot upwards of a hundred of them, though the cold was then so intense that several of them returned with frozen feet, owing chiefly to their wearing snow shoes. As soon as the snow melted, they went in search of wild potatoes, and came home loaded with them. When the ice was gone, they caught vast numbers of fishes. Bilberries were their next resource, and of these they found great quantities in the woods. Soon after they reaped their Indian corn, of which happily they had an abundant crop.

<sup>i</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 189, 194.



By the industry of the Christian Indians, Gna-denhuetten in a short time became a very neat regular town, and was much admired by the White people, many of whom came to see it from the reports they heard concerning it. The houses were remarkably well built, and the country around, which was lately a wilderness, was now cultivated to a considerable extent. The whole neighbourhood acknowledged, that they were an industrious, sober, honest people, insomuch that the traders at Detroit never refused them credit, being certain of full and punctual payment. Some of the converts, however, were not sufficiently cautious in this respect, especially during the famine, when necessity obliged them to run in debt. One trader alone had a claim of two hundred pounds sterling upon them, a circumstance which the missionaries were afraid might give rise to some unpleasant consequences. But their apprehensions proved groundless, for the Indians began to work hard, and it was not long before they paid all their debts. There was only one poor man who, having a large family to support, was not able to discharge his accounts, and therefore he came to the missionaries to make his distress known to them. On account of the peculiarity of his circumstances, they readily agreed to assist him; but in the meanwhile, his wife, as she was walking with her children in the fields, accidentally found a guinea. She supposed it to be only a piece of brass till the missionaries informed her of its value; and then her husband went and paid his debt, which was so small, that, after discharging it, he had a few shillings over.<sup>k</sup>

<sup>k</sup> Loskiel, Part. III. p. 199, 207.



But the congregation were not allowed to remain long in this place, where they were just beginning to be comfortably settled. Some of the Chippeways, though they had originally given them liberty to settle in this quarter, now expressed their dissatisfaction that they should have taken up their residence in a country which had been their chief hunting ground; and even threatened to murder some of them, in order to compel the rest to leave the place. It appeared, indeed, that there would be no end to their demands and complaints. The Brethren, therefore, found it necessary to leave this part of the country; but whither to go they were for sometime uncertain. The Congress of the United States, after the conclusion of the war with England, had expressly ordered that the district belonging to the three congregations on the Muskingum should be reserved for them, with as much land as the Surveyor-general should think proper. An Indian has a strong aversion to live on a spot where any of his relations have been killed; but the Christian Indians had laid aside this remnant of superstition, and longed to return to the place of their former abode. The savages, however, seemed still determined to carry on the war against the United States; and a great part of the Delawares and Shawanose positively declared their intention to oppose the return of the Congregation to that part of the country. Notwithstanding the threats of the Pagans, the Brethren resolved to emigrate from Gnadenhuetten; and should they not be able, at present, to take possession of their land on the Muskingum, to settle in the first convenient place they could find. The new Governor



of Fort Detroit, Major Ancrom, approved of their determination, and sent a formal message to the Indian tribes, that they should not molest their Christian countrymen. He likewise so managed the business, that they received a compensation of two hundred dollars for their houses and plantations on the river Huron, as it was resolved that the town should be inhabited by White people. Besides, he was so generous as to offer them vessels to carry the whole congregation across Lake Erie to Cayahaga, and to supply them with provisions on their arrival. <sup>i</sup>

In April 1786, the missionaries and their people left Gnadenhuetten, and embarked on board of two vessels belonging to the North-west Company. One of the partners kindly offered them for the service of the congregation, and gave orders to the captains to treat their passengers with all possible kindness, and not to run any kind of risk in case of danger. They had a good voyage till they arrived at one of the islands, where they were obliged to stop, and had their patience tried for no less than four weeks, the wind being contrary all that time. They pitched their camp upon the island, and followed the vessels whenever they shifted their station, in order to be ready to start with the first fair breeze. As often as there appeared the least prospect of proceeding, they all went on board; but, to their great disappointment, they had several times to return on shore. Having once, however, a brisk gale, they sailed in good earnest, and made such rapid progress, that they saw the coast of Cayahaga before them; but suddenly the wind

<sup>i</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 201, 203, 204, 205.



shifted, and drove them to their former station on the island. During the gale, most of the Indians were so sick, that they lay on deck senseless and almost half dead. To prevent them rolling overboard, the captains ordered them to be fastened to the vessels.

One of the vessels being ordered to return to Detroit, owing to their long detention in this quarter, it was agreed by the captains to land the congregation in two divisions in Sandusky bay, and then to proceed with the baggage to Cayahaga. The first division accordingly sailed the following day under the care of David Zeisberger, but being unable to reach Sandusky, they went on shore at Rocky Point, about eighty miles from that bay. Here they had to ascend very high and steep rocks, and to cut their way through a thicket to the summit of them. Scarcely had they pitched their camp, when a party of Ottaways, who were hunting in that neighbourhood, came upon them, and expressed great astonishment to find such a number of people encamped in this pathless desert. On the following day they all set out on foot, and every one, Zeisberger and his wife not excepted, was loaded with a part of the provisions. Such as formed the van had the greatest difficulties to encounter, being obliged to cut and force their way through the thickets. Having arrived at a large brook, running through a swamp, all the Indians, both men and women, waded through it, some of them up to the armpits in the water. After several days, the second division of the congregation overtook them, in canoes, made hastily of bark, and at length they all arrived in safety at Cayahaga. From thence



they proceeded up the river till they came to an old town, which had been forsaken by the Ottaways. This was the first spot they discovered fit for a settlement, for from the mouth of the river to this place it was nothing but one continued forest. As they were entire strangers to the state of the neighbouring country, they resolved to spend the summer here; and accordingly, they encamped on the east side of the river, upon an elevated plain, built themselves huts, and having with much difficulty cleared the ground for plantations, they ventured to sow Indian corn, though it was then so late in the season. This place was called Pilgerruh, or Pilgrim's Rest.<sup>m</sup>

Soon after their arrival at this place, the congregation received a very acceptable supply of various necessary articles from the Brethren at Bethlehem. There were also some traders who were so kind as to furnish them with provisions, and to trust them for a great part of the payment. The Congress of the United States was likewise so generous, as to order them a supply of Indian corn and blankets; and they even sent a written message to them, informing them, that it had given them much satisfaction to hear of their return into the territory of the United States; that they might rest assured of the friendship and protection of government; and that upon their going to the Muskingum, they should receive five hundred bushels of Indian corn from the public magazines, on the river Ohio, with other necessaries; a promise which was fulfilled to

<sup>m</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 207.



its utmost extent, even though the congregation remained in this part of the country.<sup>n</sup>

In the mean while, however, the congregation was not without its trials and difficulties. One evening, a messenger arrived from Captain Pipe, the Delaware chief, with an account that the Americans had surprised the towns of the Shawanose, pillaged and burnt them, murdered a number of the people, and carried others away prisoners; and that an army had arrived from Pittsburg at Tuscarawi; and therefore he advised the inhabitants of Pilgerruh to fly immediately, lest they also should be surprised and murdered by the enemy. This report seemed so incredible to the missionaries, that they endeavoured to persuade the Indians of its falsehood. But here arguments were of no avail. The massacre on the Muskingum immediately presented itself to their troubled imagination; and the women and children fled the same night into the thickest recesses of the wood. Messengers, however, being sent to Tuscarawi, and on the road to Pittsburg, it was soon discovered, that their dread of an American army was entirely without foundation. The alarm was renewed a few evenings after, in consequence of a great noise, and the sound of many horse-bells being heard in the neighbourhood. The missionaries supposed, that the whole proceeded from a convoy of flour which they expected, and this, indeed, proved to be the case; but the Indians, ever fearful and suspicious, would not so much as listen to their representations. Imagining that this was the army which was to surprise and

<sup>n</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 211, 215, 219.



murder them, they fled with precipitation into the woods, and left their teachers quite alone in the settlement. By degrees, however, they recovered from their panic, and returned to their dwellings.

The Indian congregation were still extremely desirous to return to the Muskingum; but this the savages were as determined to oppose. Neither would they allow them to remain in their present situation; but insisted on their removing to some other part of the country. Thus, the Brethren were placed in very embarrassing circumstances; but, after mature deliberation, they resolved to give up all thoughts of returning to the Muskingum for the present, and to settle on some spot between the river Cayahaga and Pettquotting, where they might enjoy a calm and safe retreat.<sup>o</sup>

In April 1787, the congregation left Pilgerruh, and proceeded, partly by land and partly by water, to the place they had fixed on for a new settlement; and on their arrival, they were much delighted with its appearance. Unlike the rest of the wilderness, it seemed like a fruitful orchard. Here and there grew several apple and plumb trees. The country abounded with wild potatoes, an article of food now much esteemed by the Indians; and the lake afforded them a plentiful supply of fish. Never, indeed, had the Brethren settled in so pleasant and fertile a spot; and now they rejoiced in the prospect of establishing a settlement in so agreeable a situation, especially as it was not frequented by any of the savages who had hitherto been such troublesome neighbours to them.

<sup>o</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 216.



Their joy, however, was of short duration. Scarcely had they begun to indulge these pleasing hopes, when a Delaware captain arrived in the camp, and informed them that they must not settle in that place, but come and reside at Sandusky; adding, at the same time, that they were not to consider this as a matter about which they were to deliberate, but as a thing that was positively determined. As usual he made them the most solemn promises of protection and safety; and he assured them, that the place appointed for their residence was not in the vicinity of any Indian town, the nearest being ten miles distant. Nothing could be more disagreeable to the congregation than this message; and though they represented to the captain the malice and treachery of the Delaware chiefs to them for the last six or seven years, yet they resolved to submit, lest their opposition should involve them in still greater calamities. Nothing, it is worthy of remark, appeared so dreadful in this proposal, as the prospect of being again subject to Heathen government. They, however, set forward on their journey; but before they had proceeded far, they discovered that the greater part of the message was false; for the place fixed on for their residence was not above two miles from the savages. They, therefore, determined to go no further for the present; but to settle in that quarter of the country near Pettquotting, and even to maintain their post in opposition to the will of the savages. Having sent a message to the chiefs to this effect, they obtained permission from them to stay at least one year in that place without molestation. Here,



therefore, they proceeded to erect a settlement, which they called New Salem.<sup>p</sup>

Many of the Indians who had wandered astray during the late troubles of the congregation, continued to return from time to time, and were received by their brethren with open arms; though, with regard to such of them as, through persuasion or fear, had been drawn aside into Heathenish practices, the missionaries exercised much caution and care, before they admitted them to the full privileges of members. They were also visited by great numbers of strangers; for as there was then a famine in the country, the savages knew that they would find provisions more readily with their Christian countrymen, than among their Pagan neighbours. Some of these were forcibly struck with the order and comfort which they observed among the converts; and one of them said, "You are truly a happy people. You live cheerfully and peaceably together. This is to be found no where but with you." In no place, indeed, where the Brethren had resided, were they visited by so many strangers as at New Salem. The town was sometimes so full, that there was not room for them; but though their visitors were so numerous, the best order was preserved in the settlement; no riots, no disturbances were occasioned by them. When any of them wished to take up their residence in the town, the Christian converts built a house for them. This was done, not with the view of enticing them to join the congregation, but, merely, that in case any of them should not conduct themselves with

<sup>p</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 220.



propriety, and it should be found necessary to desire them to leave the place, there might be no obstacle to their removal, by their having the smallest claim to their houses. It is also worthy of notice, that when the cattle of the congregation had injured the fields of the neighbouring Chippeways, who had no fences, the Christian Indians in order to prevent a similar occurrence for the future, gave them trees and shrubs, and even planted hedges round their lands to their entire satisfaction. Such was the wisdom displayed by the Brethren in their labours among these savages; and such the success with which they had infused the principles of justice and benevolence into the minds of their converts, thus affording a fine practical illustration of the precept of their divine master: "Be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves."<sup>a</sup>

In April 1791, the whole congregation, consisting of about two hundred persons, moved across Lake Erie, and settled in a place about eighteen miles from Detroit. Of late, they had been not a little molested by the dealers in rum, and other noisy visitors: Hostilities which had again commenced between the Indians and the Americans, now threatened to extend to this part of the country. The savages in returning from their predatory expeditions often took the road by Salem, in consequence of which, the congregation at that place not only suffered from their irregularities; but was exposed to the attack of the American militia who were in pursuit of them. Such were the circum-

<sup>a</sup> Loskiel, Part III. p. 224.—Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 20, 22, 24, 43.



stances which gave rise to the emigration of the congregation into the British territory, where they hoped to enjoy peace and quietness. But neither were they without difficulties in their new settlement. Some of their White neighbours who were ill affected towards them, greatly molested them; and one of them more bitter than the rest, drove his cattle into their plantations, by which the corn and other produce in their fields were totally destroyed. The congregation were at the same time much harassed with messages from the savages, requiring them to take up the hatchet against the White men, and to fight for the land of their fathers; and threatening in case of a refusal, that when the war was ended, they would come and plunder them, and carry them off as prisoners. The representation of a struggle for the common interests of the Indian tribes, combined as it was with this terrible threatening, made so powerful an impression on some of the young men, that, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of the missionaries, they left the congregation and repaired to the war.<sup>r</sup>

In April 1792, the congregation left this temporary residence on Lake Erie, and proceeded, some by land, and others by water, to Upper Canada, where the British government had assigned them a piece of ground, consisting of twenty-five thousand acres, on the river Thames, which falls into Lake St. Clair. Here they began to build a new town, which they called Fairfield. The settlement was afterwards declared to be a regular township, con-

<sup>r</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 108, 127, 136, 139.—Fortsetzung Bruder Hist. tom. iii. p. 493, 499, 510.



taining twelve miles in length and six in breadth; and in a short time, the Indians so improved it by cultivating the ground, and planting gardens, that the wilderness was literally changed into a fruitful field.<sup>s</sup>

It is well known, that White people, with the exception of traders, commonly avoid settling near an Indian town, as they are afraid of their horses being stolen, their cattle killed, their persons molested, and their improvements marred. Nothing, therefore, could be a more decisive and unequivocal proof of the high opinion which was generally entertained of the Christian Indians than this circumstance, that no sooner was it known that they were to establish themselves in this quarter, than the White people were eager to take lands in the vicinity of the settlement. When the congregation settled in this place, there were neither White people nor Indians nearer than thirty miles; but, in the course of a few years, the inhabitants increased so rapidly, that they were continually passing up and down, both by land and water, and the missionary settlement came to be on the great road to Niagara. Among others, the rum traders came frequently to the place, and notwithstanding the sale of that pernicious article was prohibited in the town, they often contrived to furnish one or other of the Indians with it, that they might take advantage of them in their dealings, and by this means they produced no small disorder among them. Besides the Monsy tribe, the offscouring of the Indian nations, lived higher up the river, and not only refused to receive

<sup>s</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 175, 315; vol. iii. p. 269.



the gospel themselves, but delighted in disturbing the peace of the congregation, and endeavoured to seduce them to drunkenness, whoredom, and all kinds of vice.<sup>t</sup>

In August 1798, the venerable David Zeisberger, now near eighty years of age, left the settlement of Fairfield, where he was beloved and revered as a father by the whole congregation, and set off for the river Muskingum, accompanied by Benjamin Mortimer, another of the Brethren, and upwards of thirty of the Indians, in order to renew the mission in that part of the country, where Congress had made them a grant of the three towns they formerly possessed in that quarter, with four thousand acres of land attached to each of them, making in all twelve thousand acres. The Brethren who previously went to survey the country, found the whole land covered with long dry grass, to which, on the day after their arrival, they set fire, in order to defend themselves from the numerous snakes and serpents which had taken possession of it. All the ground where Gnadenhuetten stood was covered with briars, hazle bushes, plumb and thorn trees, like a low impenetrable forest, excepting where the bears, deer, and other wild animals had made themselves a path. Some of the chimnies appeared in their rows. The place where the poor Indians were massacred was strongly marked. Part of their bones were still to be seen among the coals and ashes, and in every quarter the ground was covered with the bones of the cattle slaughtered by the enemy.<sup>u</sup>

<sup>t</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 150, 333.—Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. iii. p. 546.

<sup>u</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 40; vol. ii. p. 145, 269, 333.



Having arrived in this part of the country, Zeisberger and his companions began immediately to build a new town, which they called Goshen. Here the Brethren enjoyed peace and quietness, and proceeded in their labours with their usual assiduity and zeal; but we are sorry to add, with little success. There was now, indeed, no great number of Indians in that part of the country, so that they could not expect any considerable accession to the congregation from among the savages. Over such, however, as lived in the settlement they had no small cause of joy, as amidst numerous and powerful temptations to vice, particularly to drunkenness, the besetting sin of the Indians, the converts remained faithful to their Christian profession; though at a place about three miles distant there was an English village, which might be considered as a kind of Sodom for wickedness.<sup>v</sup>

In October 1799, Abraham Steiner, and Frederick Christian Von Schweinitz, proceeded on a visit to the Cherokee Indians, with the view of obtaining permission for missionaries to settle among them. Several attempts had been made many years before to introduce the gospel among that tribe; but owing to various circumstances no settlement was ever formed among them. After a variety of negotiations, two of the Brethren now settled among them, in a part of the country called Spring Place; but they had many difficulties to encounter, and had to confine themselves chiefly to the education of a few children. After labouring, however, near twenty years to little purpose, they began to see

<sup>v</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 340, 354; vol. v. p. 43.



some fruit of their exertions. A considerable number of the Cherokees appeared to be impressed with a sense of divine things, and some of them were admitted by baptism into the bosom of the church, several of whom were persons of the first respectability in the nation. Here we may also mention, that through the zealous exertions of the government of the United States, the Cherokee Indians have of late years made very considerable progress in civilization, and have made essential improvements on their form of government. The English has been adopted as the official language in which the national records are kept, and is universally gaining ground among them. Not a few individuals, and those persons of influence, have discarded the Indian language and customs; many of them have quitted hunting entirely and become agriculturists. A considerable number are men of some property; and their way of life differs little from that of substantial planters. All the chiefs, and especially the younger ones, zealously espouse the cause of civilization and instruction.<sup>w</sup>

In February 1801, John P. Kluge, and Abraham Luckenbach, in consequence of an invitation from the Delaware Indians at Woapikamikunk, on the river Wabash, proceeded to that part of the country. On their arrival they obtained from the chief a grant of a piece of land for a settlement, situated between nine Indian towns, though some miles distant from the nearest of them; and it was agreed that no rum traders or drunken people should be

<sup>w</sup> Fortsetzung Bruder Hist. tom. iii. p. 655.—Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 42, 73, 274, 307; vol. iv. p. 196, 254, 379; vol. vii. p. 220, 331, 334, 338.



allowed to molest them, and that no persons should be hindered from joining them. Here they for some time enjoyed peace and tranquillity, and they had the satisfaction to see their instructions attended by considerable numbers of the Indians. Afterwards, however, the aspect of affairs changed, and the situation of the Brethren became truly alarming. One chief, who was their protector, having died, and another who was friendly to them having been deposed, the savages became perfectly ungovernable, threatened to murder the missionaries, and even killed their cattle before their eyes. These evils were materially promoted by the rum trade, which was now carried on to a greater extent than ever throughout the whole country, and is rapidly proving the ruin of all the Indian tribes.<sup>x</sup> The settlement on the Wabash was at length broken up by one of those tragical scenes, which too often occur in the history of this eventful mission.

In February 1806, all the Indians in this quarter were summoned by their teachers or prophets to assemble on the Woapikamikunk, to hear the foolish stories which these emissaries of Satan had fabricated, and to be instructed in the revelations which they pretended to have received from God. Among these teachers was a Shawanose Indian, an arch-impostor, who gave out that he was able to discover the most secret mysteries. The Delaware tribe received him with the utmost cordiality, and resolved to hold a grand council, in order to root out the arts of witchcraft and mixing poison, and to extort

<sup>x</sup> Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. iii. p. 566.—Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 69, 71, 123, 272, 471.



a confession from all such as the Shawano should accuse ; and that whoever would not confess, should be hewn in pieces with their hatchets and burnt. With a view to the execution of this horrid design, the young Indians met together, chose the most ferocious characters to be their leaders, deposed all the old chiefs, and guarded the whole assembly, as if they were prisoners of war, particularly the aged of both sexes. The venerable old chief Tettepachsit was the first whom they accused of possessing poison, and of destroying many of the Indians by his pernicious art. As he would not, however, acknowledge the charge, they bound him with cords to two posts, and began to roast him over a slow fire. Unable to endure such exquisite torture, the poor old man declared that he kept poison in the house of the Christian Indian Joshua. Nothing could be more agreeable to the savages than this accusation, as they wished to deprive the missionaries of the assistance of this man, who was the only convert residing with them. Seven of them accordingly came to the settlement of the Brethren, and carried him away by force.

When Joshua was presented to Tettepachsit, the old chief frankly acknowledged that he had accused him merely to escape from the torture. The savages therefore pronounced him not guilty, but yet they would not set him at liberty till the Shawano should arrive. Having come the same day, the impostor ordered all the Indians of both sexes to sit down in a circle, when he would declare who had poison in their possession. The two old chiefs, Tettepachsit and Hackinpomska, he now accused of mixing poison, and he charged the former in



particular with the untimely death of many of the Indians. When he was asked about Joshua, he declared that he had no poison, but yet he possessed an evil spirit, by which he was able to destroy the other Indians. Pleased with this verdict, the savages seized all the accused, and set a watch over them as condemned criminals. An old woman named Caritas, who had been baptized by the Brethren in former times, was the first whom they devoted to the flames; and two or three days after, ten of the barbarians, with their faces painted black, came to the missionary settlement, conducting Tettepachsit, the aged chief. Upon their arrival they kindled a large fire close to the Brethren's dwelling, and after giving the venerable old man a blow on the head with a hatchet, they threw him into the flames, and diverted themselves with his miserable cries. After committing this horrid murder, they came boldly into the house of the missionaries, boasted of the atrocious deed, and demanded some refreshment, which it was of course necessary to give them. The Brethren, however, took courage, and asked them what would be the fate of Joshua, vindicated him from the charges which had been alleged against him, and obtained a promise from them that he should not be murdered. Though they understood that they themselves were suspected by the savages of keeping poison for the purpose of making those Indians sick who would not do as they desired, or even of killing them; yet they resolved to go to the assembly, and try what could be done for the preservation of Joshua, or at least to afford him comfort and advice in the hour of trial. As the missionary Kluge, however, could not leave his wife



and children under these alarming circumstances, Luckenbach was so bold as go alone; but he had scarcely advanced half way when he heard, to his astonishment and grief, that Joshua had been murdered by the savages the preceding day. It appears they first struck him on the head with a hatchet, and then threw him into a large fire. With these dreadful tidings, Luckenbach hastened back to his fellow labourers; and though for some days past they had suffered the most exquisite anxiety and distress, yet this now crowned their misery. Overwhelmed with grief and terror, they lost the power of speech and reflection, and could do nothing but utter cries of lamentation and woe. On the following days, others of the Indians were accused by their countrymen, and shared a similar fate; and as the missionaries continued to be in imminent danger of their lives, they at length abandoned the settlement.<sup>y</sup>

Besides these settlements, the Brethren formed others among the Chippeway Indians in Canada, among the Monsys near Lake Erie, among the Wyandats and Mingoes in Upper Sandusky, and among the Creeks on the river Flint; but these different stations they were obliged to abandon one after another.<sup>z</sup>

In November 1808, died at the settlement of Goshen, on the Muskingum, the venerable David Zeisberger, aged eighty-eight years, upwards of sixty of which he had spent as a missionary among the

<sup>y</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 1.

<sup>z</sup> Fortsetzung Bruder Hist. tom. iii. p. 565, 655.—Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 350; vol. iv. p. 258, 491; vol. v. p. 203 264; vol. vi. p. 253; vol. vii. p. 9.



Indians. To his latest breath, he retained the same ardent zeal for the conversion of the Heathen, the same unaffected serenity of mind, the same unbounded confidence in God, which had distinguished his earlier years. When old age began to creep upon him, so that he could no longer travel about as formerly among the Pagan Indians, he devoted all his time to the instruction of the congregation at Goshen, sparing no pains, both with the old and young, in promoting their everlasting interests. When he became almost blind with age, a few months before his death, and his exertions were confined within still narrower limits, he did not lose his usual cheerfulness; he took particular delight in hearing accounts of the success of the gospel, and was perfectly resigned to the will of God as to the declension of his own powers. He had a serious yet animated look; and though his body was worn almost to a skeleton, yet his judgment still remained sound, and from his long experience as a missionary, his observations were considered as invaluable.<sup>a</sup> Were men to obtain that honour in the world to which their merit entitles them, David Zeisberger would certainly hold a distinguished place in the annals of fame. Perhaps since the days of the Apostle Paul, no man has made greater exertions, or undergone severer privations, or endured more numerous trials in propagating Christianity among the heathen, than this extraordinary man.

In October 1813, in consequence of the unhappy war between England and America, the settlement at Fairfield, which lay near the confines of the

<sup>a</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 377, 308, 481.



British territory, was involved in new calamities. Immediately after the occupation of Malden and Detroit by the American army under General Harrison, the congregation had several consultations about a place to which they might fly for safety. The houses of the missionaries and of the Indians, had been occupied for some time by fugitives from the surrounding country; and there were about seventy sick soldiers in the church and schoolhouse. General Proctor, the English commander, intimated to the Brethren, that he intended to fortify Fairfield; but, that he was willing to purchase their houses and all the Indian corn, garden stuffs, furniture, and whatever else they could spare for the use of the army. He also promised that another tract of land should be assigned to the congregation, as a temporary residence during the war, and that they should be supplied with provisions and clothes from the royal stores. As under these circumstances, the stay of the Indians was no longer practicable, they resolved to quit the settlement. Some of them had set off on their voyage as soon as the approach of the American army was known: others of them now followed, partly by land and partly by water. Previous to this, it was agreed that Christian Frederick Dencke one of the missionaries, should accompany them in their flight; but, that Schnall, who was sickly, and Michael Jung, who was old, should remain in the settlement with the view of retiring to Bethlehem.

Scarcely had the Indians left Fairfield, when an engagement took place between the American army, and the English detachment about a mile and a half from the settlement, in which the latter



were completely defeated. In the evening a great number of the victors entered the town and professed at first to be friendly to the mission, promising to do the Brethren no harm, and expressing their regret that the Indians had fled. The same night, however, they began to treat the missionaries very harshly, accused them of secreting English officers and royal stores, and commanded them with great fierceness, to deliver them up without delay. The Brethren assured them of the contrary; but all in vain. Every room and corner was searched, particularly the roofs of the chapel and schoolhouse; each of the missionaries was ordered to open all his trunks and boxes for examination; nor was any person allowed to leave the house without a guard. Early next morning the soldiers began to plunder the settlement. The Brethren were now obliged to surrender their last morsel of bread: six hundred pounds of flour which they had just purchased for the winter, fifty bushels of potatoes, twelve of apples, and various kinds of kitchen stuffs, were all taken from them.

General Harrison and several other officers having arrived during the plundering, Schnall the missionary immediately waited on him, and recommended the settlement to his protection, requesting, at the same time, that some compensation might be made them for the stores which had been taken from them. His request was refused; but he was told, that the missionaries had liberty to quit the place. Commodore Perry, who was one of the party, appeared more friendly to them, and several others of the officers, and even of the privates, expressed pity for their unmerited sufferings. Some even



employed force to protect them from the wild and lawless soldiery, who, all day long, loaded them with the bitterest curses, and the most cruel mockeries. In the meanwhile, the Brethren found an opportunity to pack up their goods; but as they were about to load the waggon, they were once more obliged to submit their baggage to a thorough search. Nothing, however, was found, which could in the least degree impeach their character, as they very wisely, never intermeddled with political matters. They were now obliged to leave behind them, the whole of their household furniture, together with their cows, pigs, and other live stock, which, if time had been allowed them, might have been sold for several hundred dollars. After their departure, the settlement was set on fire, and all the buildings totally consumed: not even the smallest outhouse was spared.

In the meanwhile, nothing was heard of the fugitive congregation, nor of the missionary Dencke, who had fled with them, a circumstance which occasioned much anxiety to the friends of the mission. It afterwards appeared, that the Christian Indians, on leaving Fairfield, encamped with their cattle at a place about six Canadian miles up the river. The wife of the missionary Dencke, followed them in a canoe to this spot; but, in the meanwhile, he himself remained at Fairfield, to see what would be the event. As soon, however, as the English soldiers entered the settlement on their retreat, he set off to join the congregation; but on arriving at the camp, he found his wife alone, for the Indians, frightened by the reports of the fugitives, had all fled into the woods. The mission was now to appearance broken



up, for neither the Indians nor the missionaries knew where each other were.

Having learned that the other missionaries had not only left Fairfield, but that the settlement was burnt to ashes, Dencke was reduced to the greatest dilemma, not knowing what to do, nor whither to go. Happily, however, a man offered to convey him and his wife in a waggon to Delaware town, a proposal which they readily accepted. The journey proved extremely troublesome; but they received an ample compensation for all their toils, when on their arrival at that place, a number of the congregation came running to them, and with tears in their eyes, offered up thanks to God, that they again beheld their teachers. They had heard that the missionaries were all taken prisoners, and that they would now be left without the means of instruction. As several of the women and children were still wandering in the woods, Dencke sent some of the young people to inform them that he would again settle with them, and to invite them to return. In a short time, the whole of them came back, except a single woman who was murdered near Fairfield.

After wandering about from place to place for near two years, and suffering many inconveniences, the Indian congregation began to establish themselves in the neighbourhood of their old settlement on the River Thames. To this place they gave the name of New Fairfield.<sup>b</sup>

In December 1817, the congregation at New

<sup>b</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 437, 471; vol. vi. p. 23, 117, 191, 252.



Fairfield, consisted of one hundred and twenty Indians, besides whom, there were forty-seven persons who dwelt on their land, and attended church. Some years before, the congregation at Goshen, on the Muskingum, consisted only of twenty members: and at Spring Place, in the Cherokee country, the number by the last accounts was fourteen.<sup>c</sup>

With respect to the whole number of Indians who have been baptized by the Brethren since the commencement of the mission, we possess no particular statement; but we apprehend they may be estimated at about fourteen hundred and fifty persons, including men, women, and children.\*

<sup>c</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 482; vol. vi. p. 440; vol. vii. p. 338.

\* Though we have no precise statement of the amount of the converts from the commencement of the mission to the present time, we have the following accounts of the number baptized or received by the Brethren within particular periods:

|                                  | Adults. | Children. | Total. |
|----------------------------------|---------|-----------|--------|
| From ——— 1734 to ——— 1772, . — — |         |           | 720    |
| December 1769 to April 1792, .   | 285     | 217       | 502    |
| April . 1791 to August 1797, .   | 12      | 40        | 52     |

The total amount of these numbers is 1274; but, from this, we must make some deduction on account of the repetition of several of the years. Since 1797, few adults have been received into the congregation: the baptized have consisted chiefly of children born in the settlements. *Loskiel*, Part III. p. 226. *Fortsetzung Bruder Hist.* tom. iii. p. 527. *Period. Accounts*, vol. ii. p. 149. We apprehend, therefore, we cannot be far from the truth, when we estimate the whole number of the baptized from the commencement of the mission, to the beginning of 1823, at about fourteen hundred and fifty.



## SECTION IV.

## SOUTH AMERICA.

## ARTICLE I.

## BERBICE.

IN June 1738, Lewis Christopher Daehne and John Guettner, sailed from Holland, for Berbice in South America. Having on their arrival found no opportunity of instructing the negroes in the colony, they at length removed into the interior and formed a little settlement, which they called Pilgerhut, in the neighbourhood of the Indians. Here they were obliged to work, not merely for their own support, but in order to pay the passage of some other Brethren and Sisters who were sent to their assistance, as the congregation at Herrnhuth was, at that period so poor, that it could not furnish even the expenses of the voyage.<sup>a</sup>

As the Indians were widely scattered through an immense wilderness, the Brethren had many difficulties and hardships to encounter in visiting them. On these occasions, they were obliged to carry with them a supply of bread or cassabi for five or six days; to take their hammocks on their shoulders; to sleep in them suspended on trees in the woods; to wade through brooks and rivers, and often to travel immense distances without meeting with a house or a human being. If they came to the huts of the Indians when the men happened to be absent, the

<sup>a</sup> Risler Erzählungen aus der Geschichte der Bruderkirche, tom. iv. p. 17, 28, 42.—Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 321.



women fled with their children into the neighbouring thicket, uttering a frightful shriek. Having, by the help of a mulatto youth, translated into the Arawack language, an account of the Life of Christ, the Brethren in the course of their visits to the Indians read this compendium to them; but, though the savages listened to it with that attention, which curiosity naturally excites, they were little affected by it. After some years, however, a number of them appeared to be impressed with the gospel, and were baptized by the missionaries as the first-fruits of their labours.<sup>b</sup>

Most of the converts, and some even of the unbaptized, now built themselves huts at Pilgerhut, that they might have an opportunity of daily enjoying Christian instruction. With the view of facilitating their settlement, the missionaries not only gave them permission to build on their land, but notwithstanding their own poverty, supplied them with provisions until the cassabi they had planted was ready. The more religion spread among the Indians, the more were the Brethren animated to prosecute their work with energy and zeal. No wilderness appeared to them too frightful, no road too dreary, no Indian hut too remote, if they might hope to find a soul ready to receive the gospel.<sup>c</sup>

In September 1749, soon after the mission had begun to assume a promising aspect, a storm arose which threatened its utter extinction. In consequence of letters from some gentlemen in Berbice,

<sup>b</sup> Risler Erzählungen, tom. iv. p. 33, 41.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. tom. iv. p. 38, 40, 43, 47.



who were unfavourable to the Brethren, and to their labours among the Indians, the Directors of the Company at Amsterdam, had given orders to the new governor to require the missionaries to take the oath to government, with respect to which, their enemies well knew they had conscientious scruples. The Brethren were accordingly summoned before the Council and required to take the oath, while at the same time a threatening was added, that should they refuse, they would all be sent home by the first ship to Europe. The Council, however, was so far satisfied with their representations, that it agreed to accept of their simple declaration until further orders were received from Holland. Disappointed in this stratagem, the enemies of the mission attempted to drive away the Indians from the Brethren, by circulating a report, that they designed to make them slaves, a rumour admirably calculated to rouse the jealousy of the savages, as the idea of slavery is more frightful to them than death; but this report obtained no credit with the converts, as they had now the most perfect confidence in their beloved teachers. In consequence, however, of new machinations of their enemies, the missionaries were ordered not to collect the Indians to Pilgerhut; but to allow them to live scattered through the country; to clothe the baptized, and to pay the poll tax for them; to take the oath to government in the ordinary form, and to appear in arms in order to be exercised. The requisitions with respect to the Indians were given up; but not that which related to the Brethren swearing allegiance to government. In consequence of these vexatious proceedings, several of the mis-



sionaries left the country ; but others took the oath, considering it not inconsistent with a good conscience, to swear allegiance to government.<sup>d</sup>

In 1753, the number of Indians who resided with the Brethren, amounted to upwards of two hundred and sixty. The savages who merely came to visit them, spread the report of what they heard and saw to a vast extent through the surrounding country, in consequence of which, numbers came to Pilgerhut from places at a great distance, were impressed with the gospel, and joined the congregation. Even from among the wildest of the Indian tribes, there were several whose hearts appeared to be softened at the foot of the cross, and who became the followers of the meek and lowly Jesus. But as the land of the Brethren was too small to support so great a number of inhabitants, many of them had constantly to be absent on the chase, or the fishery, or at their distant cassabi fields. There the native helpers held the daily meetings with them, and though some of the converts occasionally fell into their old sinful practices, yet, through the earnest and affectionate representations of the missionaries, they were, in general, soon brought to a sense of their guilt, and with many tears to seek forgiveness from the Redeemer.<sup>e</sup>

Such was the flourishing state of the mission, when the country was visited with a severe scarcity which lasted several years. The inhabitants of Pilgerhut, not only participated in the general calamity, but were plundered of their crops by the soldiers

<sup>d</sup> Risler Erzählungen, tom. iv. p. 48, 53, 56, 58.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. tom. iv. p. 50, 59, 68.



and negroes from the colony, who, not content with seizing whatever was ripe in the fields, destroyed the rest in a most wanton manner. To scarcity, was at length added an epidemic disorder, which spread through the country, and cut off great numbers of the inhabitants, both Indians and Europeans. Near half of the inhabitants of the colony died, and, among others, several of the missionaries. In consequence of these disastrous circumstances, most of the Indians forsook Pilgerhut, and retired into different parts of the country. The number whom the missionaries had baptized, was upwards of four hundred; but they were at length so completely scattered, that the congregation was reduced to about twenty. The Brethren, however, resolved to maintain their post, in the hope of the return of more auspicious times; but these hopes were never realized.<sup>f</sup>

In February 1763, the negroes in the colony rose in rebellion against their masters, murdered many of the White people, and laid waste the whole country. As the rebels came at length into the neighbourhood of Pilgerhut, the Brethren were obliged to abandon the settlement and escape for their lives. One party of them proceeded immediately to Demerara; but in the course of the journey, they suffered many privations and hardships, and were constantly in danger, from parties of incendiaries and murderers who were strolling through the country. Happily, however, they escaped almost miraculously, by taking a road through woods and swamps, unknown, even to the Indians them-

<sup>f</sup> Risler Erzählungen, tom. iv. p. 70, 83, 86, 90, 92.



selves, and at length, after a journey of about four weeks, they reached the first plantation in that colony, to which they might have travelled in two days by the ordinary route. Another party remained for some weeks in the neighbouring woods, in the hope they might still retain possession of Pilgerhut; but they also were at length obliged to retire to Demerara. Several of the missionaries proceeded with the first ship to Europe: Two, who remained until they should receive instructions from home with respect to their future operations, died before the letters reached them. Such was the melancholy termination of the Brethren's labours in Berbice.<sup>8</sup>

#### ARTICLE II.

#### SURINAM.

##### PART I.

#### SHARON.

IN 1739, John Hadwig, George Zeisberger, Henry G. Meiser, John H. Steiner and Michael Tanneberger, sailed for South America, in consequence of an agreement which the Brethren had made with the Dutch Surinam Company, who were anxious to obtain settlers for that colony. After their arrival, they endeavoured to support themselves by working at their trades, and by cultivating some land which they purchased; but as they were so much engaged in labouring for their own maintenance,

<sup>8</sup> Risler Erzählungen, tom. iv. p. 92.—Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 214.



they had little time or opportunity for visiting the Indians, or learning their language. Their evening meetings, however, were attended by some Jews and Christians; but the government interfered, and prohibited them from admitting any strangers to their private worship. In consequence of this interruption of their labours, and of some dissensions among themselves, the Brethren, after a few years, left the country and withdrew, some of them to Pennsylvania, and others to the neighbouring mission in Berbice.<sup>h</sup>

In 1754, Lewis Christopher Daehne and Mark Ralfs, proceeded to Surinam, with the design of renewing the mission in that colony. On their arrival, the governor appeared much prejudiced against them, in consequence of the unfavourable reports he had received from Holland concerning the Brethren; but through the representations of Mr. Loesner, the late governor of Berbice, he so far changed his opinion, that he gave them permission to settle in the country, and even offered them land on which to establish a mission. Having pitched on two different pieces of ground for this purpose, the one on the river Sarameca, the other on the Corentyn, they received a grant of both from government, with a confirmation of all the privileges which the missionaries enjoyed, who were formerly settled in the colony.<sup>i</sup>

In January 1757, the Brethren began to build huts for themselves on the river Sarameca, and called the name of their little settlement Sharon.

<sup>h</sup> Risler Erzählungen, tom. iv. p. 21, 24.—Crantz Hist. Breth. p. 195.

<sup>i</sup> Risler Erzählungen, tom. iv. p. 98.



Here they were joined by a number of the Indians, particularly from Pilgerhut in Berbice, so that in a short time, they had a little congregation assembled around them. The settlement began to assume a very promising aspect; but it met with a powerful enemy in the Free Negroes. These people were originally slaves who had escaped from their masters, and taken refuge in the woods, where they maintained their independence, and whence they often committed depredations on the colony; but as the Indians received from government, a reward of fifty florins for every runaway slave whom they carried back, the negroes were naturally dissatisfied with the collecting of so many of them to Sharon. They, therefore, resolved to destroy the settlement, and they at length carried their purpose into effect.<sup>k</sup>

In January 1761, a band of negroes came to the neighbourhood of Sharon, one Lord's day when the congregation was met for divine worship. On the dismissal of the assembly, they sallied forth from their retreat among the bushes, and commenced the attack. Such of the Indians, as had dispersed after sermon to meditate on what they had heard, immediately took flight, some into the thicket, others to the house of the missionaries. The negroes, afraid to approach the house, as there were some within who were armed with guns, placed themselves behind the trees; and continuing the assault wounded Odenwald, one of the Brethren, in the arm with a ball. As they at last set fire to the house, the missionaries, together with the Indians,

<sup>k</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 326.—Risler Erzählungen, tom. iv. p. 107, 127, 161.



fled into the thicket; but in the midst of their terror and confusion, they missed the way, and after rambling about till the evening, found themselves at no great distance from the settlement. The negroes having in the meanwhile taken their departure, the Brethren proceeded to the spot where Odenwald lay. He was still bleeding; but they dressed his wound, and having saved one hammock, put him into it, while they themselves lay down to sleep on the wet ground, as they durst not kindle a fire lest the enemy should discover their retreat. On the return, next morning, of one of the missionaries to the settlement, he found their house burnt to ashes, and all their little property destroyed. Three of the Indians lay dead on the ground, and eleven others were carried away prisoners.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding this terrible disaster, Schirmer and Cleve, two of the Brethren, returned soon afterwards to Sharon with a number of the Indians, and as they met with no further interruption from the negroes, they resolved to remain at that place. They had, indeed, a guard of fifteen men allowed them by the governor; but the neighbourhood of soldiers was often a burden to them, and proved a serious disadvantage to the Indians. Both of them at length fell sick: most of their time they lay in their hammocks without medical aid, and with no other food than cassabi and water. Sometimes, indeed, the one had a day's remission of the fever, and was able to afford a little assistance to the other. In the midst of these trials, they had the pleasure

<sup>1</sup> Risler Erzählungen, tom. iv. p. 127.—Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 333.—Crantz Hist. Breth. p. 546.



of welcoming some Brethren, who were sent from Europe to assist in this, and the other missions in South America; but their joy was quickly turned into mourning, as one after another of the new missionaries, sickened and died soon after their arrival.<sup>m</sup>

Hitherto, the number of Indians who had settled with the Brethren was inconsiderable; and even those who had taken up their residence with them, were often so alarmed by false reports of a new attack from the negroes, that most of them fled into the wilderness. By degrees, indeed, many of them returned, and begged with tears to be again admitted into the congregation. When peace was at length restored between the negroes and the colonists, the missionaries hoped that such of the converts as were still scattered in the wilderness would return to them: but the dread which they had of their old enemy, instead of diminishing, seemed to increase after the termination of hostilities, as the negroes, when they came to Sharon, which they sometimes did in considerable numbers, treated them in a very unfriendly manner. The Indians, therefore, placed no confidence in the peace, especially as some malicious persons, with the view of scattering the congregation, circulated reports of the design of the negroes to make a new attack upon them.<sup>n</sup>

In 1779, the Brethren relinquished the settlement at Sharon, as it appeared to serve no valuable purpose. The Indian congregation, had of late years dwindled away, partly from dread of the negroes,

<sup>m</sup> Risler Erzählungen, tom. iv. p. 130, 132, 136.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. tom. iv. p. 142, 149.



partly from the land being so completely over-run by ants, that no cassabi would grow upon it; but chiefly from indifference to the gospel. The missionaries, therefore, retired from Sharon to Hope, on the river Corentyn, where a settlement had been established some years before. °

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PART II.

HOPE.

IN April 1757, Lewis Christopher Daehne took up his residence on the piece of ground which the Brethren had chosen for a settlement on the river Corentyn. On going thither, he was accompanied by some of the Indians, who assisted him in building a hut; but afterwards they all left him, except one, with whom he led a very solitary life. After some time his companion was taken ill, and the Indian doctors, who passed by, told him, he would never recover, if he continued to live with the White man, who was under the power of the devil, and would likewise soon turn sick. Influenced by these representations, the poor fellow, as soon as he got a little better, forsook his teacher, and retired among his own countrymen. But though Daehne was left alone, without either friend or companion, yet even in this wild solitude, he was contented and happy. “Our Saviour,” he says, “was always with me, and comforted me with his gracious presence, so that I can truly say, I spent my time in happiness and peace.”

° Risler Erzählungen, tom. iv. p. 161.—Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. i. p. 300.



Some of the Indians, at first, entertained strong suspicions of his views, and even formed the design of putting him to death. The soldiers at the fort informed him of his danger, and invited him to come nearer them; but though he thanked them for their kindness, he determined to stand by his post, if he might be honoured to win only one soul to the Redeemer. One day, however, as he sat at dinner, about fifty of the Caribbee Indians landed from their canoes, and surrounded his hut, with the view of carrying their threats into execution. Some of them were armed with swords; others with tomahawks. This was truly an alarming sight. Nevertheless he went out to them, and bade them welcome. They then asked him, through the medium of an interpreter, Who gave him liberty to build on their land. To this he replied, The Governor. They next inquired, What design he had in coming thither. To which he answered: "I have brethren on the other side of the great Ocean, who having heard that many of the Indians on this river were ignorant of God, have, from the great affection they felt towards you, sent me to tell you of the love of God, and what he has done to save you." The chief then said: "Have you never heard that the Indians intend to kill you?" "Yes," answered Daehne, "but I cannot believe it: You have among you some who have lived with me, and they can tell you, that I am the friend of the Indians." To this the chief replied: "Yes, I have heard so: they say you are another sort of Christian than the White people in general." The missionary then said, "I am your friend: How is it that you come to kill me?" "We have done wrong," answered



the chief. Every countenance now altered, and the Indians quickly dispersed. The chief, however, remained behind, and behaved in a very friendly manner. As Daehne was then in want of provisions, he gave him a supply of cassabi, and other articles, and on taking his leave, promised that he would often come and see him. Thus our missionary, by his magnanimous, yet temperate conduct, warded off the blow that threatened his life, and even converted his enemies into friends.

During his stay in this solitary situation, Daehne was frequently in want of the common necessities of life. Often he rose in the morning, ignorant whether he should taste a morsel the whole day; yet Providence so ordered it, that repeatedly when he could no longer bear the gnawings of hunger, some Indians arrived, who divided with him their handful of cassabi. Often too, when, in clearing the ground, he was overcome with fatigue, the Indians who passed by were so kind as afford him assistance. He laboured, however, so hard, that he at length fell sick; and though one of the Brethren in Berbice set out immediately to visit him, yet for a considerable time he could get none of the Indians to carry him in their boats, for they were all afraid of going near a sick person, and particularly our missionary, as it was generally reported that the devil lived with him. They even did all they could to dissuade his brother from visiting so dangerous a person. He, at length, however, prevailed, and arrived to the assistance of his sick friend.

Besides suffering these various trials, Daehne was often in no small danger from wild beasts, serpents, and other venomous creatures. A tyger



for a long time kept watch near his hut, seeking an opportunity, no doubt, to seize the poor solitary inhabitant. Every night it roared most dreadfully; and though he regularly kindled a large fire in the neighbourhood before he went to bed, yet, as it often went out by the morning, it would have proved but a miserable defence, had not the Lord preserved him. The following circumstance is still more remarkable, and illustrates, in a singular manner, the care of God over his servants. Being one evening attacked with a paroxysm of fever, he resolved to go into his hut, and lie down in his hammock. Just, however, as he entered the door, he beheld a serpent descending from the roof upon him. In the scuffle which ensued, the creature stung or bit him in two or three different places; and, pursuing him closely, twined itself several times around his head and neck as tightly as possible. Expecting now to be stung or strangled to death, and being afraid lest his Brethren should suspect the Indians had murdered him, he, with singular presence of mind, wrote with chalk on the table: "A serpent has killed me." Suddenly, however, that promise of the Redeemer darted into his mind: "They shall take up serpents, and shall not be hurt." Encouraged by this declaration, he seized the creature with great force, tore it loose from his body, and flung it out of the hut. He then lay down in his hammock in tranquillity and peace.<sup>p \*</sup>

<sup>p</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 327.—Risler Erzählungen, tom. iv. p. 114.

<sup>\*</sup> This was probably one of that species of serpents whose bite is not venomous; but which destroy other animals by twisting themselves round their body.



After living about two years in this solitary situation, Daehne was relieved by the arrival of some others of the Brethren. Here they erected a little settlement which they called Ephraim. The Indians not only visited them in considerable numbers at this place; but many of them took up their residence with them. The missionaries, however, were often in great want of the necessaries of life; they depended chiefly on what they could find in the thicket, and on what the Indians gave them.<sup>a</sup>

In February 1765, the Brethren removed from Ephraim, to a place a number of miles further up the river Corentyn, and called their new settlement by the auspicious name of Hope. In that neighbourhood, a number of the Indians who had fled from Pilgerhut in Berbice, now lived; but most of them had lost, in a great measure, any impressions of religion they might once have had. The missionaries were unwearied, in visiting them and the other savages in that quarter of the country; but their labours were attended with little success. It was a great disadvantage to the Indians, that they did not live under the immediate eye of their teachers. As the land in the neighbourhood of Hope was not adapted for raising cassabi, most of the congregation resided at a considerable distance: only a few families dwelt constantly in the neighbourhood. Such as lived at a distance, used to come every four weeks to attend on the Lord's supper, and, as they were then obliged to leave their houses and plantations unprotected, and commonly remained about eight days at Hope, they, often on returning home, found

<sup>a</sup> Risler Erzählungen, tom. iv. p. 117, 126, 134.



their fields plundered of their crop. Many, in consequence of this, did not come oftener than once in two or three months. Such circumstances as these, could not fail to prove highly injurious to the spiritual interests of the congregation. They were not only deprived of the daily meetings for divine worship; but they forgot the instructions they had already received; they lost their relish for divine things, so that, even when the missionaries visited them, they did not like to hear them speak about vital religion; but endeavoured to turn the conversation to matters of an external nature; they, in short, mingled with the heathen, and learned of them their way.<sup>r</sup>

In July 1790, Fisher, one of the Brethren, with the view of preventing these evils, endeavoured to obtain from a neighbouring chief, a piece of land where the congregation might raise cassabi for their subsistence. After presenting him, according to the custom of the country, with a basket of oranges and some bananas, he asked him, whether he would grant the Christian Indians permission to plant in his neighbourhood. This request the old man immediately granted, and pointing out a considerable tract of forest land, said, "This ground God has given to me, as he gave that at Hope to thee. Thus I am the rightful proprietor of it. Now, as I have not created it, and thou canst use it, I deliver it over to thee freely. Thy people may come and clear it: the sooner the better." He then addressed the Indians in a very friendly manner, and expressed his satisfaction at

<sup>r</sup> Risler Erzählungen, tom. iv. p. 146, 159.—Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. i. p. 93, 301; tom. ii. p. 305, 311.



their coming to plant in his neighbourhood; assuring them, at the same time, that no devil or evil spirit haunted the tract of land he had given them.<sup>s</sup>

In consequence of this new arrangement, the Indians began to build themselves huts, and to lay out plantations in the neighbourhood of Hope. The missionaries, however, had no small difficulties to encounter in forming them to habits of industry: at times, they even thought that all their plans would prove abortive. In the eyes of an Indian, the trench and the spade, are the emblems of slavery. The young men, indeed, were superior to such prejudices, and performed their work with pleasure; but the old men were completely possessed with these foolish notions. By degrees, however, the Indians not only made considerable improvement in the cultivation of the land; but began to prepare all kinds of timber for building, and to convey it to Paramaribo and Berbice, from whence they received considerable orders. They also made a kind of hats from the leaves of a certain species of palm, which they sold to the Pagan Indians and negroes, as well as to the White people, who found them very useful, as they were much lighter, cooler, and stronger, than the common hats.<sup>t</sup>

In August 1795, Fisher and Kluge, two of the missionaries, together with four of the Indians, experienced a remarkable deliverance at sea, when in imminent danger of being drowned. In conveying the timber and other articles they had prepared, to

<sup>s</sup> Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. iii. p. 91.—Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 99.

<sup>t</sup> Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. iii. p. 92, 96, 102, 105, 107.—Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 117, 153.



Berbice, they often ran great hazard in their small canoes ; and therefore they at length purchased a large boat for this purpose. But in the very first voyage they made in her to the colony, she all of a sudden became leaky, after they had proceeded a considerable way, and filled with water so rapidly, that before they could run her ashore, she sunk to the bottom. At first they clung to a cask fastened to the boat, and then to the mast, part of which was above the surface of the water. In this perilous situation they remained for no less than eight hours, but at last, when it was after midnight, they contrived to get ashore, two and two at a time, in a small canoe they had providentially taken with them. In the morning, the missionaries and a little boy, (for the canoe would not hold more,) set out to return to Hope, and after rowing for about twenty-four hours in their wet clothes, without any covering for their heads, and even without food, they reached that place to the great astonishment of their Brethren. It happened very providentially that all their efforts to get out to sea had been frustrated by contrary winds which kept them near the shore ; for as the boat sunk within less than five minutes after the leak was discovered, they must inevitably have perished, had the accident happened at a distance from land. <sup>u</sup>

In December 1800, the inhabitants of the settlement at Hope, amounted to two hundred and eight, of whom one hundred and sixty-nine were baptized, and eighty-four were communicants. Their number had of late, been considerably diminished in con-

<sup>u</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 260.



sequence of the smallpox. Many had fled from dread of that frightful disorder, and others had died of it. Among the many advantages attending the introduction of the gospel and the arts of social life among them, it was none of the least, that in sickness they were much better taken care of than their Heathen neighbours. It is a singular fact, that in epidemical diseases, eight of the Pagans died for one Christian.<sup>v</sup>

In August 1806, the whole settlement, including the church, the houses of the missionaries, and the habitations of the Indians, was burnt to the ground. The fire once kindled, ran along the roofs which were thatched with leaves, with such prodigious fury, that there was no possibility of checking its progress. By this means, not only their houses, but all their garden tools, the stores of the Indians, the tackling and rigging of their boat, and various other useful implements, were totally destroyed. The fire began about two o'clock in the afternoon, while the missionaries were taking some refreshment, and there was much reason to suspect that it was kindled by incendiaries, as several attempts of the same kind had been made some days before, which being discovered were frustrated in time.<sup>w</sup>

In 1808, the mission among the Indians on the river Corentyn, was relinquished by the Brethren. While the external circumstances of the settlement were so disastrous, its internal state was not more flourishing. Most, if not all of the Indians belonging

<sup>v</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 259 ; vol. iii. p. 141.

<sup>w</sup> Ibid. vol. iv. p. 45.



to the congregation, whose practice corresponded with their profession, had, within a short time, been seized with an epidemical disorder, and died rejoicing in the Redeemer. Such as still survived, so far from being truly religious, were disorderly, dissolute, and refractory, and even manifested a spirit of enmity to the gospel. Discouraged by these circumstances, the Brethren abandoned the settlement at Hope, which had hitherto, but ill corresponded with its auspicious name. An attempt was afterwards made to renew the mission; but it was not successful; and after a few years, it was again relinquished. <sup>x</sup>

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PART III.

BAMBEY.

IN 1765, Lewis Christopher Daehne, who had lately come to Europe, returned to Surinam, accompanied by Thomas Jones, and Rudolph Stolle, in consequence of a request from the governor, who had now made peace with the Free negroes on the river Sarameca, and wisely judging that the conversion of them and their children to Christianity would be the most effectual means of putting a period to those cruelties and depredations which they often committed on the colonists, made application to the church of the Brethren to establish a mission among them. Upon their arrival, the missionaries were presented by the agent of govern-

<sup>x</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 306; vol. v. p. 149, 242, 281; vol. vi. p. 376.



ment, to the captains of ten or twelve villages of the negroes, and were at first received by them with much friendship. Each of the chiefs wished to have one of them, thinking it an honour, perhaps, to have a European residing with them, but the Brethren judged it best, at least for the present, to remain together. They promised, however, to visit them all, and with this view, took up their abode in the centre of their villages. But though the negroes appeared friendly at first, yet when the missionaries explained to them the design of their coming, the poor creatures, particularly the old women, set up a most pitiable howl, terrified lest their idols should be provoked if they had any thing to do with the great God; and, a few days after, they appointed prayers and offerings to be made, with the view of appeasing the wrath of their offended deities. Indeed, they in general considered themselves as very good people, and were angry with the Brethren, when they exhorted them to seek redemption through the blood of Christ.<sup>a</sup>

In January 1771, Arabini, one of the chiefs, was baptized by the Brethren as the first-fruits of their labours among the negroes. Though persecuted by his countrymen, and threatened with the vengeance of their gods, yet had he the fortitude to withstand the one and to despise the other. Having often heard the missionaries declare that the objects of their worship, which consisted chiefly of wooden images, large trees, heaps of sand, stones, crocodiles, and various kinds of serpents, could

<sup>a</sup> Risler Erzählungen, tom. iv. p. 177, 185.—Crantz's Hist. Breth. p. 488, 595.—Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 334; vol. ii. p. 414



neither help nor hurt a man, he took his idol, which happened to be a staff curiously decorated with beads, and burned it in the fire. He afterwards went one morning with his gun to the river, where the crocodile or alligator, which was said to be the god of the village, used to have its haunt; and on discovering the creature, he addressed it in the following manner: "I mean to shoot thee: Now, if thou art a god, my bullet will not hurt thee; but if thou art only a creature, it will kill thee." He accordingly fired his piece and killed the animal on the spot.<sup>b</sup>

In December 1773, the Brethren removed to a place which they called Bambey, two days' journey lower down the river, whither the negroes had gone a short time before. Here they had many difficulties to encounter. Their voyages to visit the negroes, they had to make along the rivers, in an open boat, exposed to the rays of a burning sun, or to violent rains, among precipitous rocks and waterfalls, of considerable height, which were at once troublesome and dangerous. They not only lived in a state of entire seclusion from the whole civilized world; but often laboured under severe attacks of sickness, which debilitated their frame, and incapacitated them for visiting the negroes in other villages so frequently as they could have wished. Indeed, they had often scarcely arrived, when they sickened and died, one following another in rapid succession to the grave.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 95.

<sup>c</sup> Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. i. p. 98; tom. iii. p. 70.—Risler Erzählungen, tom. iv. p. 195.—Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 418.



In 1777, Christian Lewis Schuman, came to Bambey, and soon after his arrival, he was left alone near a whole year at that place, in consequence of the death of one, and the return of another of his fellow missionaries. In this solitary situation, he was so debilitated by frequent attacks of fever, and painful abscesses over his whole body, that he was unable to walk or stand. He sometimes lay many days sick, destitute of all human help, as his own negro was afflicted with similar sores, and the inhabitants of the village were absent the whole week, working at their distant plantations. One night when he had fallen sound asleep, after a severe paroxysm of fever, an immense host of ants entered his chamber, and completely covered his whole body. On awaking in this situation, he hastened out of bed into another house as well as he was able. His pain, which was already very great, was dreadfully aggravated by the bites of the ants, and the means employed in removing them. But yet, amidst these heavy trials, he experienced, in a remarkable degree, the supporting and consoling grace of the Redeemer. He forgot all his sickness and pain, when the negroes came to hear from his lips the words of eternal life: sometimes, indeed, he was so weak, that he could not stand while he addressed them; but yet, he lay in his hammock, and from thence, spoke to them of the things which belonged to their everlasting peace.<sup>d</sup>

In October 1787, Andrew C. Randt, who had lately arrived at Bambey, was bit while asleep, in three places by a species of bat which abounds in

<sup>d</sup> Risler Erzählungen, tom. iv. p. 199.



that quarter of the world, and on awakening, found himself bathed in blood. When a person is lying in his hammock, and his extremities accidentally uncovered, these animals insinuate their aculeated tongue into the veins of the feet, in so dexterous a manner as not to disturb him. They then suck the blood till they are satiated, fanning all the while with their enormous wings, and agitating the air in a manner so pleasing, in that hot climate, as to throw their victim into a still sounder slumber. After they are satisfied, they are obliged to disgorge: they then begin again, and continue sucking and disgorging till they are scarcely able to fly, and the sufferer has not unfrequently been known to sleep from time into eternity. They make similar attacks on other animals, and, it is said, that in some parts of South America, they have destroyed all the cattle introduced by the Roman Catholic missionaries.<sup>c</sup>

In May 1800, John Maehr, another of the missionaries, made a narrow escape from death under a form still more frightful. He and several of the negroes having gone to a neighbouring creek, to prepare some cedar planks cut two months before, they carried with them a live tortoise, which they meant to kill and make a meal of in the wood. This creature they tied to one of the posts of their huts, while the negroes went to a place about a mile distant, to catch some fish. This they do by means of a certain species of wood, which being cut small, beaten to powder, and strewed on the water, stupifies the fish to the distance of a mile or more

<sup>c</sup> Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. ii. p. 382.—Bingley's Animal Biography, vol. i. p. 96.



down the river. They are then pursued, and either pierced or shot with arrows by the negroes, who are placed along the banks, partly in boats, and partly standing in the water. Meanwhile Maehr was employed in preparing the cedar planks; but being at length overcome with fatigue, he lay down in the shade, near the tortoise, and slept about an hour. During this time a tyger came to the spot, tore the tortoise off the poll, and dragged it into the wood, while he was lying fast asleep near at hand. On awakening, and perceiving the danger he had been in, he was much struck with the merciful deliverance, and as the negroes returned soon after, and brought with them a large supply of fish, the tortoise was never missed.<sup>f</sup>

In January 1801, the whole number of negroes baptized by the Brethren since the commencement of the mission, amounted only to fifty-nine; the congregation then consisted of forty-nine members, including baptized and candidates for baptism, of whom no more than seventeen were communicants.<sup>g</sup> Such had been the small success of the missionaries, notwithstanding the toils they had undergone, the sufferings they had endured, and the sacrifice which many of them had made of their lives.\*

About 1813, the mission among the Free negroes

<sup>f</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 451; vol. iii. p. 144.

<sup>g</sup> Risler Erzählungen, tom. iv. p. 207.—Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 152.

\* From the commencement of the mission to the year 1797, twenty-nine Brethren and Sisters were employed in this mission, and of these, no fewer than nineteen died either on the spot, or soon after their return. Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 420.



was relinquished by the Brethren. Of late it had assumed a very unpromising aspect, not only with regard to the Pagan negroes; but even as to many of the baptized: the expense of supporting it had become extremely burdensome, as the missionaries had resigned the office of agent for government, which one of them had held for many years, and which, though it had contributed to diminish the expense of the undertaking, had proved a very irksome and unpleasant charge: Maehr, the only missionary remaining in that quarter, was obliged to leave it on account of the state of his own and his wife's health, while, at the same time, there was none to supply his place.<sup>n</sup> These circumstances, combined with the small prospect of success, occasioned the suspension of this hitherto unfruitful mission.

Such is a view of the rise, the progress, and the termination of the missions of the Brethren among the Indians and the Free negroes in South America: none of them was attended with any remarkable success, and all of them it was at last found necessary to relinquish.

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PART IV.

PARAMARIBO.

IN 1768, Christopher Kersten began to instruct a few negroes at Paramaribo, the capital of Surinam. It was a part of the original plan of the Brethren in coming to this country, to make known the gos-

<sup>n</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 79, 151, 194, 243, 363.—Holmes' Sketches, p. 287.



pel among the slaves in the colony ; but the planters and other inhabitants were so much prejudiced against them, in consequence of the unfavourable reports in circulation concerning them, that they would not allow them to carry their views into execution. Some of the Brethren, however, still resided in Paramaribo, where they wrought at their trades for the support of the missionaries in the interior, and by their excellent conduct, gradually acquired the confidence both of the government and of the people. As they employed some hired negroes to assist them in the way of their trade, Kersten now began to instruct three of them who manifested a desire after religious knowledge. Such was the commencement of the Brethren's labours in Paramaribo ; but for several years their exertions were much interrupted, and did not extend beyond a few individuals.<sup>i</sup>

In 1776, the Brethren had the pleasure of baptizing several of the negroes in Paramaribo, who thus formed the beginning of a congregation in that place. The number of their hearers gradually increased, and they at length erected a church for their accommodation. Most of the White inhabitants of the colony viewed the labours of the Brethren with approbation ; but there were a few who prohibited their slaves from attending on their instructions, and punished them on this account. Notwithstanding this opposition, however, the missionaries, in the course of a few years, collected a considerable negro congregation at Paramaribo.<sup>k</sup>

<sup>i</sup> Risler Erzählungen, tom. iv. p. 208.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. tom. iv. p. 213, 216, 219.—Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. i. p. 309 ; tom. ii. p. 314.



In April 1786, two of the Brethren took up their residence at a place called Sommelsdyke, where the governor had made them a grant of fifty acres of land for a settlement, with the view of instructing the slaves on the neighbouring plantations. In the course of a few months both the missionaries died, in consequence, it was supposed, of the ground not being sufficiently drained; but they were soon succeeded by others who pursued their labours with considerable success. Some of the planters, however, considered the diffusion of Christianity among their slaves as useless: others, though they had no objection to their instruction, would not allow them to go to Sommelsdyke for that purpose, but wished the missionaries to visit them on the plantations, a circumstance which increased their labour without promoting their success.<sup>1</sup>

In January 1821, the number of negroes under the care of the Brethren in this country, amounted to 1154; of whom 969 were baptized, and 722 were communicants. The congregation at Paramaribo had of late rapidly increased. Within a few years its numbers had been considerably more than doubled. Sommelsdyke has, however, been abandoned; but the Brethren have extended their exertions to other parts of the colony.<sup>m</sup>\*

<sup>1</sup> Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. ii. p. 316.

<sup>m</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 307; vol. vii. p. 267; vol. viii. p. 109.

\* Before closing our account of the missions of the Brethren in South America, we shall add a few general notices which may not be altogether uninteresting to the reader.

From the commencement of these missions to the year 1800, there were 159 Brethren and sisters employed in the different settlements at Pilgerhut, Sharon, Hope, Bambey, Paramaribo



## SECTION V.

## TARTARY.

IN 1735, David Nitschman went to St. Petersburg, the metropolis of Russia, with the view of proceeding among the Calmuc Tartars, and the descendants of the Bohemian Brethren, who, it was reported, still resided in the mountains of Caucasus. In this attempt, however, he failed; but yet he obtained some important information by means of the visit, and formed a friendly acquaintance with a clergyman in that city, who was of great service to three missionaries destined for Lapland, who, three years after, were thrown into prison by the Russian government.

In 1742, Conrade Lange set off on a journey to China, together with two others of the Brethren,

and Sommelsdyke: of these, 75 died in the country, many of them immediately after their arrival.

The whole number of persons baptized by the missionaries until 1801, was as follows:

|                               |     |
|-------------------------------|-----|
| Indians, ... ..               | 855 |
| Free negroes, ... ..          | 59  |
| Negroes and mulattoes, ... .. | 731 |

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1645

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Of these there had died in the faith of Christ, ... 658

Still under the care of the missionaries, ... 594

Forsaken the Congregation, ... 393

*Risler Erzählungen*, tom. iv. p. 221.

The number of backsliders is no doubt considerable; yet it will not be reckoned wonderful, by any who reflect on the peculiar difficulties with which the Brethren have had to struggle in South America.



Zechariah Hirschel, and Michael Kund, who were intended as missionaries to the Calmuc Tartars. Having, however, applied for a passport on their arrival at Petersburg, they experienced the same treatment as their brethren destined to Lapland, being apprehended as suspicious persons, and thrown into prison. Here they were detained for several years; but at length they were dismissed, and returned to Germany. Still, however, the Brethren were not discouraged; and, at length, found an opportunity of carrying their views into effect.<sup>a</sup>

In 1765, John E. Westmann, and several others of the Brethren were sent to establish a colony in the province of Astrachan, with a particular view to the introduction of Christianity among the neighbouring Tartar tribes, the Empress of Russia having lately passed an edict, granting the members of their church full permission to settle in her dominions, and promising them complete liberty of conscience. Having fixed on a place for a settlement, about twenty-four miles below Czaritzin, they began to erect the buildings necessary for their accommodation, to cultivate the ground, and to work at their respective trades. In the course of a few years, this place, which they called Sarepta, became a flourishing little town; but its history as a colony does not fall within our plan: it is only as it became a central point from which attempts were made to extend Christianity among the neighbouring tribes that we have to notice it.<sup>b</sup>

As this place was on the road from St. Petersburg to Persia and the East Indies, the Brethren received

<sup>a</sup> Crantz's Hist. Breth. p. 189, 314, 394. <sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 525, 608.



frequent visits from travellers and other strangers who happened to pass in that direction. Among others, there was a merchant from Georgia, who, in conversing with them concerning the several tribes which inhabited the Mountains of Caucasus, mentioned one called the Tschecks, who, according to their own account, were some hundred years ago driven thither from Europe, and who still retained their own language, preserved their peculiar customs, and professed the Christian religion; but being no longer able to read the books of their forefathers, which were deposited in large strong-built churches, which now stood empty, they looked forward to a period when the use of them and their public worship would be restored. As the Bohemians call themselves Tschecks, the Brethren naturally conjectured that these were probably the descendants of their countrymen, who, about the end of the fifteenth century, were banished from Moravia on account of their religion, and were said to have gone to Moldavia, and from thence to the Mountains of Caucasus.<sup>c</sup>

In 1768, two of the Brethren, with the view of obtaining further information respecting these unfortunate people, set off for that part of the country which they were said to inhabit. Having arrived at Astrachan, they procured from the governor letters of recommendation to the Russian commanders, with orders to give them some Cossacks as a guard, and a Tartar for their interpreter. On arriving, however, at Mosdok, the frontier fortress, where they were only four days' journey from the

<sup>c</sup> Crantz's Hist. Breth. p. 611.



country which the Tschecks were said to inhabit, they were advised by the commandant of that place, not to proceed further, as the Kabardian Tartars were approaching with an army of forty thousand men, who would in all probability take them prisoners, and carry them into slavery. In consequence of this painful intelligence, the Brethren had no alternative but to relinquish the enterprise for the present. They determined, however, to embrace the earliest opportunity of renewing the search; and, in the meanwhile, employed themselves in learning the Tartar language.

It was not long before the Brethren commenced an acquaintance with the Calmuc Tartars, who inhabit a vast tract of country on both sides of the Wolga. Soon after their arrival, a horde of these barbarians encamped on their land; and though this at first occasioned them considerable trouble, yet the colonists, by their kind and affable behaviour, quickly gained the confidence and friendship of their visitors. They were particularly happy when a physician arrived in the settlement. Many of them became his patients, among whom was one of their princes, who, with his train, pitched his winter quarters in the neighbourhood. He formed a particular attachment to two of the Brethren, who often visited him with the view of learning the language; and, on his departure, he offered if they would go with him into the Great Steppe, (an immense plain covered with long grass), to take them under his protection, and to furnish them with the means of acquiring the language. This offer the Brethren accepted with joy; and during the two following years, they resided among the Tartars,



conforming to their manner of life, and accompanying them in their migrations from place to place with their tents and cattle. They neglected no opportunity of making known the gospel to them; but though they themselves were treated with civility and friendship, their message was not received by the barbarians. The great Derbet horde at length retired from that part of the country, and only a few straggling families remained in the neighbourhood of Sarepta.<sup>d</sup>

In November 1781, Gottfried Grabsch and George Gruhl, two of the Brethren, renewed the attempt to visit the Tschecks on the mountains of Caucasus. After passing through several Tartar towns, they arrived at Beregee, the place where Professor Gmelin was imprisoned and died. Here, had it not been for their guide, they would not have been admitted into any house, all the inhabitants of the place being zealous bigoted Mahommedans, and inveterate in their hatred of Christians; but at length one of them, to oblige their conductor, agreed to give them lodgings. Usmei Khan, the prince of the country, happening to be in the town at this very time, could scarcely be persuaded that the account which Grabsch gave of himself was true, but suspected he was either a physician, a rich, or a learned man. One of the Tartar princes even told him very gravely, that he had heard that if a man's body was ripped up, he could heal him in a very short time. Usmei Khan being at length satisfied with regard to their design, took them in his retinue to the place of his residence, and then sent them

<sup>d</sup> Crantz's Hist. Breth. p. 612.—Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 191.



forward, under the care of a guide, to Kubascha, the principal seat of the Tschecks.

Here they arrived the same day; but their disappointment may be more easily conceived than described, when on entering the town, they heard the cry of the Mollahs on the turrets of the mosques, summoning the people to prayers, an indubitable proof that the inhabitants were Mahommedans. Grabsch, however, proceeded to make inquiry concerning their origin, their religion, their language, and their books; he visited every house in the town, and left no means untried, in order to ascertain whether any memorials of Christianity yet remained among them. He discovered the ruins of three churches, and an inscription over the door of one of them, cut in stone, which neither he nor any of the inhabitants were able fully to decipher; in the middle of it, the number 1215, in the usual Arabic figures, was still legible. Not far from this ruin, stood a noble stately church, built of hewn stone, and decorated with a profusion of architectural ornaments, but now converted into dwelling-houses, and divided into five stories. On the top of this building, several inscriptions in stone were pointed out to him, but he could not discover in them the smallest resemblance to any letters with which he was acquainted. \* It further appeared,

\* Some will, perhaps, be surprised to find the remains of Christian churches in the wilds of Tartary; but, it appears from our ordinary Ecclesiastical historians, that the gospel was introduced into that country, at least, as early as the sixth century; that it was afterwards propagated over a great part of that extensive region, through the zeal of the Nestorians; and that metropolitan prelates, and a great number of inferior



that the inhabitants had no longer any books written in the characters used by their ancestors: They now employed the Arabic alphabet in writing their own language as well as the Turkish and Tartar. Their ancestors, they acknowledged, were originally Christians; but upwards of three hundred years ago they embraced the religion of Mahomed; and now, they thanked God, that he had directed them in the right path to heaven. Some of them, however, expressed great regard for Grabsch, and Mahmud, his host, assured him, that whenever he came to Kubascha, he would consider him as his brother: "What," said Grabsch, "though I do not turn Mussulman?"—"O, all that goes for nothing," replied Mahmud.

On arriving at Shamachy, on their way home, the Brethren were informed of a village three days' journey from that place, where there was a congregation of Christians, who were said to be the descendants of foreigners; and who, though the prince of the place had endeavoured by threatenings and persecution, to compel them to embrace the Mahomedan faith, still maintained the profession of their own religion. Anxious as the Brethren were to visit these people, it was not in their power at present. They saw, however, a man from that village, who informed them that they came origi-

bishops were established in those very districts which are now the seat of Mahomedanism and idolatry. It is chiefly since the fourteenth century, that Christianity has declined in this quarter of the world. *Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 95, 203, 372, 435; vol. iii. p. 9, 131. *Yeates' Indian Church History*, p. 97.



nally from Georgia, and were members partly of the Georgian, partly of the Armenian church.

Having at length reached Tefflis, they were there received in the most friendly manner by the Prince or Czar, who expressed a strong desire that some of the Moravians would come and settle in his territories, and even wrote a letter to this effect to the Brethren in Europe. Our travellers intended, if possible, to proceed from this city across the mountains to visit the Tschegemzi, who reside on the banks of the river Tschegem, as the resemblance in sound to the name Tschucks, led them to suspect they might be the descendants of the Bohemians who had emigrated into Asia; but during their stay at Tefflis, Grabsch had an opportunity of conversing with some persons from that part of the country who spoke the Nogay language, and assured him, that their ancestors were descended from the Tartars in the neighbourhood of Astrachan, who had fled from the Russians into the mountains; but that the ruins of Christian churches in their neighbourhood, showed that it had once been inhabited by a very different race of people. This account was confirmed by other persons, who ascribed these traces of Christianity to some colonies of Genoese who had formerly settled in that country. The Brethren, however, still wished to undertake the journey; but they were at present under the necessity of abandoning their design, and returned to Sarepta after an absence of about ten months.<sup>e</sup>

Besides embracing every opportunity of cultivating a friendly correspondence with the Calmucks,

<sup>e</sup> Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. i. p. 335.



the Brethren at different periods made attempts to introduce the gospel among them. With this view, several of them applied to the study of their language, and, though they laboured under great disadvantages for want of an able teacher, yet they obtained possession of some of their books, which were of considerable assistance to them, for the Calmucks are not ignorant of the use of letters. Besides visiting the hordes which came into the neighbourhood of Sarepta, some of the Brethren occasionally accompanied them in their wanderings, in order to make known the gospel to them; but their labours were attended with little success. One poor blind Calmuck girl whom they saved from perishing on the road, and four Kirghisian children whom they ransomed from slavery, were the only individuals of the Tartar race whom they received into the church.<sup>f</sup>

In May 1815, John G. Schill and Christian Hubner, proceeded from Sarepta to the Torgutsk horde of Calmucks, with the view of renewing the attempt to convert them to the Christian faith. On arriving among them, they were received in a friendly manner both by the chief and his officers. The gospel of Matthew, which had lately been translated into the Calmuck language by Mr. Schmidt, one of the Brethren, was received by them with great pleasure; but numbers of the people afterwards returned their copies from dread of the displeasure of their priests, who were apprehensive their craft would be in danger, if the doc-

<sup>f</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 105; vol. ii. p. 115, 191, 196; vol. iv. p. 213; vol. v. p. xiv.—Edinburgh Review, vol. xxviii. p. 303, 315.



trines which it taught should spread among their countrymen. The alarm, however, soon subsided, and many of them wished to have them again. Mr. Schmidt is proceeding with the translation of the New Testament into the Calmuck language; the four gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles have already been printed.<sup>s</sup>

Through the labours of the missionaries, a number of the Calmucks were brought to embrace the gospel; but they met with so much opposition from their countrymen, that they quitted the horde with their tents and cattle, and took refuge near the Brethren at Sarepta, on a small island in the river Wolga. These converts, however, the Russian government will not allow them to baptize, as the Greek clergy were empowered about a century ago to convert the Calmucks, and to their care they unhappily must be left.<sup>h</sup>

Some copies of the translation of Matthew, having been transmitted to the governor of Irkutsk in Siberia, he distributed them among the neighbouring Burat Tartars, and requested the opinion of their princes concerning it. But as the dialect of the Mongolian language spoken by them, is not precisely the same as that in use among the Calmucks, and as the character is different, this was a task of some difficulty. It was deciphered, however, by two of their nobles who were intrusted with this commission, and excited so much curiosity,

<sup>s</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. vi. p. 255.—Evan. Mag. vol. xxiv. p. 242, 451; vol. xxvi. p. 42.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1816, p. 22.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 34.—Scottish Missionary Register, vol. iii. p. 262.

<sup>h</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. viii. p. 221,



that the chief priest of the Mongols, and the prince of the Burats, collected among their people upwards of 11,000 rubles, \* which they transmitted to the Russian Bible Society, on condition that the Gospel of Matthew, and if possible, other books of the New Testament should be translated into their language, and printed in their character. With this view the two nobles were sent to Petersburg, and were placed under the care of Mr. Schmidt, the author of the Calmuck version. As they proceeded with the work, their minds were impressed with its sacred contents; they were convinced of the falsehood and folly of their own religious system, and of the truth and excellence of Christianity. In this dialect the four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles have also been printed, and we hope, that at no distant period the New Testament will be completed.<sup>i</sup>

## SECTION VI.

### PERSIA.

IN the spring of 1747, Christian Frederick William Hocker, a Physician, and J. Rueffer, a Surgeon, set off for the East, with the view of visiting the Gaures, who resided in Persia, and were supposed by some to be the posterity of the Magi, or Wise

<sup>i</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. vi. p. 466; vol. vii. p. 41;—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1817, App. p. 248; Ibid. 1818, App. p. 73.—Scottish Miss. Reg. vol. iii. p. 262.

\* About £550.



men who came to Bethlehem at the birth of our Saviour. \* On arriving at Aleppo, they were strongly dissuaded by various European gentlemen in that city, from prosecuting their journey, on account of the anarchy and distress in which Persia was then plunged by Nadir Shah, who, among his other cruelties, had caused numbers of the Jews and Armenians to be burnt alive, because they would not satisfy his rapacious demands for money. But notwithstanding these alarming representations, the Brethren determined to persist in their original design. Afterwards, indeed, when they heard many new frightful reports from Persia, particularly how the Usurper had plundered Ispahan, the capital of the kingdom, and Kerman, the principal seat of the Gaures; that in the latter place he had been so inhuman as to erect three pyramids of men's heads; and that, in consequence of his unparalleled atrocities, the whole country was in a state of rebellion, Hocker was inclined to go to Bussora, and there wait a more convenient season for executing their design; but Rueffer rather proposed going to Bagdad, to which the other consented, on condition that should they find no opportunity of travelling from thence to Persia, they would then proceed to Bussora.

Having provided themselves with two camels, and a variety of other necessary articles, they left Aleppo, with the caravan destined for the East,

\* The Gaures, or Guebres, are the same as the Persees, or worshippers of fire. They are descended from the ancient Persians, the followers of Zoroaster, to whose religious tenets and moral institutions, they still profess to adhere. *Forbes' Oriental Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 109.



consisting of no fewer than fifteen hundred camels. In passing through the desert, they usually set off about sunrise, and travelled till noon, when they stopped for an hour, and prepared some coffee for dinner. They afterwards pursued their journey till sunset, when they again halted, and rested till a little after midnight. Their supper consisted of hard boiled rice, with melted butter; and though it was an unsavoury dish, yet hunger rendered it palatable, and even delicious. Their drink was muddy stinking water, which they were obliged to strain through a cloth before it was fit for use. After travelling about a fortnight in this manner, they arrived at Cowis, a place where the caravan usually divided into two, one part going to Bagdad, the other to Bussora; but, to their great mortification, the whole, in this instance, proceeded to Bussora. They, therefore, went forward to Bagdad, in company with four Jews who were travelling thither; and, on their arrival in that city, they learned that a caravan was about to set off for Persia. Having joined it without delay, they proceeded a considerable way on their journey without molestation; but they were, at length, attacked by the Curdes, a tribe of robbers who infest that part of the country to the great annoyance of travellers. Their way that day was first over a large hill, and then through a valley along the foot of the hills. The armed men, who were between fifty and sixty in number, stopped in the valley, to wait till the whole caravan had passed over the hill. Scarcely, however, had our travellers passed it, when they heard a most hideous cry behind them on another hill, and on looking round, they perceived a numerous band



of Curdes running straight toward them. A few of them were mounted, and armed with sabres and javelins; but most of them were on foot, and had chiefly clubs and javelins, so that if the people belonging to the caravan had possessed courage and a good leader, they might easily have repelled them, as there were only about two hundred of this undisciplined band. But as they retreated in full gallop over the hill, after firing only a few shots, those who had merely asses or mules were left an easy prey to the robbers. Before Hocker was aware, he was pierced in the back with a javelin, and while he turned and looked about, he received another stab in his right side; but as they both struck against his ribs, they did him no material injury. Such, however, was the violence of the latter, that he fell down the hill, upon which one of the robbers followed him, and before he had time to rise, aimed a stroke at his face, but though he received a pretty severe wound in the chin, he did not lose it, as some of the caravan did their ears, while others had their skulls fractured. When he rose, he suffered the robbers to take all his money and clothes to his very shirt and breeches, which they did not offer to seize.

As soon as the ruffians left him, he ran forward as fast as he could; but before he was aware, he received another violent stroke on the back of his neck, from one of the banditti who lay in wait for him, so that for a time he lost all recollection, and fell almost lifeless to the ground. The robber, however took nothing from him but the watch left in his pocket. Hocker then fell into the hands of a third, who stripped him of his boots and stockings. A fourth now came up and robbed him of his



breeches, but yet he had the civility to leave him two pair of old drawers. From the place where they were plundered to the nearest habitation, was fifteen English miles, and toward this quarter each individual made the best of his way. As Hocker was naked and barefooted, his body was in a short time half roasted by the heat of the sun, and his feet were extremely sore from the hardness of the road; but yet the hope of reaching a place of safety supported his strength and courage. On his arrival he found many of his fellow travellers naked like himself, and spent with fatigue, hunger, and thirst. His first concern was to find his brother Rueffer, who was no less anxiously seeking for him, and if the Persians had not hindered him, would certainly have returned to the place where they were robbed. Hocker at last discovered him coming towards him, but for some time did not recognize him, stripped as he was of all his clothes. He was not, however, wounded; for as soon as he saw the robbers running up to him, brandishing their clubs, he made signs to them to take all he had, begging only his instrument for bleeding. Thus one after another stripped him till he was left perfectly naked. One of the Persians furnished him with a piece of cloth to bind round his waist; and Hocker, as soon as he saw him gave him a pair of his drawers. Shach Aly Beg, who took them with him, and another Persian called Hassen Aly Beg, were so kind as supply him with an old waistcoat and sandals, and brought them to a house, where, as it was cold, they were glad to find a warm chamber, and some bread and grapes for their supper. Rueffer's body, however, was so full of sores and blisters,



occasioned by the burning heat of the sun, that for many nights he could not shut his eyes for pain. In general, the Persians belonging to the caravan behaved toward them with great kindness. The two persons already mentioned would have purchased asses for them, but as they could not pay for them, they chose rather to walk.

On the following day, the Brethren set forward on their journey; but scarcely had a week elapsed, when they were again attacked by another gang of robbers, who rushed upon them with drawn sabres, and stripped them of the few articles they had left. Hocker saved only a pair of torn drawers, Rueffer an old waistcoat. Their sufferings for some days were so great, that it is impossible to describe them. They had nothing for food but bread and water; and Hocker caught a violent flux from the difference of temperature between the night and the day. It was considered by them as a great mercy, that for a few nights they were permitted to sleep in a stable, though without either fire or covering. Hocker, at last, obtained some kind of dress for himself, but as it consisted of horse hair and cotton, it tore his skin, and was extremely painful. Happily, they at length reached Ispahan, and were received in a friendly manner by some Fathers of the Roman Catholic Church, who lived in that neighbourhood, and particularly by Mr. Pierson, the English resident, who took them into his house, and supplied them with clothes, and such other articles as they needed.

On mentioning to this gentleman their design of visiting the Gaures, he dissuaded them in the strongest manner from making the attempt at that time,



as the whole country was in a state of the greatest anarchy and distress. He told them that Nadir Shah, and after him the Afghans, had ransacked and plundered Kerman; that the Gaures in that quarter were a good, honest, industrious kind of people, but that most of them had either been massacred or expelled from the country; and that the roads to that place were still more dangerous, from the numerous gangs of robbers which infested them, than even those they had lately travelled. These representations of the English resident were confirmed from every quarter, and destroyed all the Brethren's hopes of being soon able to visit the Gaures. They might have settled at Ispahan in a medical capacity, with the fairest prospect of success, as the inhabitants of Persia have a very exalted idea of the learning and skill of physicians from Europe; but as they had no hope of being useful in their principal character as missionaries, they resolved to return to Cairo in Egypt, and there wait the advice of their Brethren.

In June 1748, the two missionaries left Ispahan; but they had not proceeded far on their journey, when the caravan was surprised and robbed by another gang of banditti. They now lost the third time every farthing they possessed, together with most of their clothes. In consequence of this, they came to Bender Buscher in rags and in debt; but here they found a friend in the Dutch agent, who took them under his care, kindly paid their debts, and forwarded them on their journey to Bussora. From thence they afterwards proceeded to Egypt; but while they were in that country, Rueffer died



at Damietta, and was interred in the burying ground of the Greeks.

In February 1750, Hocker, who was now deprived of his fellow traveller, returned to Europe, after an absence of about three years. Thus terminated the plan of the Brethren for introducing the gospel among the Gaures in Persia.<sup>a</sup>

## SECTION VII.

### EGYPT.

IN May 1752, Dr. Hocker, after his return from Persia, proceeded from London to Cairo, with the view of penetrating into Abyssinia, in the hope of promoting the interests of Christianity in that country. His plan was to practise as a physician in Cairo, to establish a correspondence with the patriarch of the Copts, by whom the Abuna, or metropolitan of Abyssinia is consecrated; and through him to form an acquaintance with the Abuna himself, and to offer him the services of the Church of the Brethren. Having presented his credentials to the Patriarch of the Copts, he was soon after favoured with an answer from him, of which the following is an extract: "In the name of the merciful and gracious God. In God is salvation. From Mark,\* the servant of the servants of the Lord.

<sup>a</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 381.

\* The Patriarchs of the Copts, who have also the title of Patriarchs of Alexandria, Jerusalem, Abyssinia, and Nubia, are all called after the Evangelist Mark, who is considered as the founder of the church of Alexandria. This was Mark the hundred and sixth.



The peace of our Lord God, and the Captain of our salvation Jesus Christ, which he in an upper room at Zion poured forth upon the assembly of excellent disciples and apostles. May he pour out this peace upon the beloved, excellent, and experienced brother, the venerable Bishop our Father Aloysius,\* the liturgist of the Unity of the Brethren. This is to testify, Beloved Brother, that the blessed son and venerable deacon, Irenæus† Hocker, has delivered unto us your letter, which was full of affectionate cordial love. We have read it; and it became unto us a taste of your love to all Christians. We, in like manner, pray God for you, and for all the Christian people, that he may exalt the glory of the Christians in the whole habitable world, through the nutrition of his life-giving cross.”

In the spring of 1754, Dr. Hocker proceeded to Constantinople, with the view of providing himself with a firman or pass from the Grand Seignior, as there was no way of entering Abyssinia, but by the Red Sea, the ports of which were all in the hands of the Turks, who would scarcely allow a European to enter them without orders from Court. Though the plague was then raging in Constantinople, he succeeded beyond his most sanguine expectations. Besides a firman from the Grand Seignior, he procured letters of introduction from several European ambassadors to the consuls of their respective nations, and likewise a recommendation from the British Ambassador to the Prime Minister of Abyssinia, who had once been in the service of the Eng-

\* Lewis, i. e. Count Zinzendorf.

† Frederic, or, in German, Friedrich, i. e. Rich in peace.



lish. With these he returned to Egypt, intending to proceed, as soon as possible, on his voyage. Meanwhile, however, the Grand Seignior died, in consequence of which the firman became of no use. Egypt now became the theatre of great disturbances and danger; and therefore Hocker resolved to go back to Germany, and to wait the return of more peaceful times. He had not, however, been long in Europe, when he determined to renew the attempt to penetrate into Abyssinia.<sup>a</sup>

In 1756, Dr. Hocker returned to Cairo, accompanied by George Pilder a student of divinity from the seminary of the Brethren. On their arrival in that city, they received intelligence that the King of Abyssinia was dead; that his successor was a prince only seven years old; and that all the Greeks had been compelled to leave the country. They met, however, with a friendly reception from the Patriarch of the Copts; and, during their stay, they had some useful conversation with him and his clergy. One day, when they attended divine service in the Coptic church, the Patriarch observing them among the people sent for them to partake with them in the breaking of bread, which among the Copts is a different ordinance from the Lord's Supper. He afterwards took them to his house to attend the Agapæ, or Love-feasts of the clergy: and on this occasion, there was much conversation concerning the Church of the Brethren, with which they expressed their satisfaction. Afterwards, however, the Patriarch having heard various unfavourable reports of the Brethren, began to examine the

<sup>a</sup> Crantz's Hist. Breth. p. 433.



missionaries concerning several points of doctrine; nor would he give them a letter of recommendation to the Abuna of Abyssinia until he should receive from them an account in writing, of the origin, doctrine, liturgy, and constitution of the church to which they belonged. On these topics they were soon able to satisfy both the Patriarch and his clergy.

In the autumn of 1758, the Brethren, after many delays, set off for Abyssinia. Having crossed the country to Suez, they embarked on board a small Turkish vessel on the Red Sea; but after a tedious and troublesome voyage of eleven days, they were stranded on the island of Hassane. The sailors made their escape in a boat, but the Brethren were obliged to remain on the wreck, which was almost entirely under water, and to wait for a considerable time in this perilous situation, until they were taken ashore. Twenty days they tarried on the island in perpetual danger of their lives from the rapacious Arabs, and even from their fellow travellers, who took it into their heads that they had vast treasures with them. Besides, they had saved little of their provisions from the wreck, and even fresh water was not to be had; so that what from hunger and thirst, and what from heat by day and cold by night, their situation was extremely distressing. Having left this place, they at length reached the port of Jidda, on the coast of Arabia. Here they became acquainted with two Turkish merchants whom the Regent of Abyssinia had commissioned to bring a physician for the Prime Minister, who was then sick. Being earnestly solicited to accompany them, the Brethren would gladly have embraced so favourable an op-



portunity of entering the country; but unfortunately, when the vessel was wrecked, they lost their chest of medicines, and various other necessary articles; and as they did not think it expedient to prepare remedies in a strange country, from unknown substances, they resolved to return to Cairo, to supply themselves with new medicines, and to come back the following year. Meanwhile, they transmitted by the merchants a letter to the Abuna John, the hundred and thirty-seventh, together with a copy of the epistle which Count Zinzendorf had addressed to him.

Having set off on their return to Egypt, by way of Limbo, the Brethren there found some of the articles which they had lost by the stranding of the vessel, but were at great expense in redeeming them. After narrowly escaping shipwreck again off the island of Hassane, they at length reached Cosseir in Upper Egypt. Before their arrival, the caravan had taken its departure; but this was a very providential circumstance for them, as it was attacked and plundered by a band of robbers. They now proceeded with a smaller caravan, by a route different from what was usual, to Guena on the Nile; and after being kindly entertained at Pharsut by some Fathers of the church of Rome, they prosecuted their voyage along that river, in company with several barks, though not without considerable danger, as they had often to force their way through the midst of robbers. On reaching Cairo, they found that the plague had been raging in that city, and had swept away great numbers of the inhabitants. Both the Brethren were now sick. On this account, Pilder was under the necessity of returning to



Europe; and, after some time, Hocker was obliged to follow him, without having been able to execute his purpose of penetrating into Abyssinia.<sup>b</sup>

Dr. Hocker, however, was not discouraged by these repeated disappointments, and resolved not to abandon the undertaking. He hoped, that in the patient exercise of his medical profession, a door might at length be opened for promoting the interests of religion, if not in Abyssina, at least in Egypt. In 1768, he again set off for Cairo, accompanied by John Henry Danke, another of the Brethren. On their arrival, they found the whole country in a state of terrible confusion, in consequence of the attempt of Ali Bey to mount the throne of Egypt, and to erect it into an independent kingdom. Hocker, however, was received in the most cordial manner by his old acquaintances, particularly by the Greek and Coptic clergy.<sup>c</sup>

In October 1769, Mr. John Antes, one of the Brethren, who was appointed to join the missionaries in Egypt, sailed from London; and after a voyage of about seven weeks, arrived at Larnica, in the island of Cyprus. Not being able to obtain a passage from that place to Egypt, he at length heard there was a vessel at Limasol, a port about fifteen leagues to the westward, bound for Alexandria; and though he was then extremely ill of an ague which he had caught immediately after his arrival, he crept out of bed, packed up his luggage during the paroxysm of the fever, and prepared to take his departure. As his conductor spoke no language but Greek, the English consul procured him a muleteer who under-

<sup>b</sup> Crantz's Hist. Breth. p. 489.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 615.



stood Italian to carry his luggage and provisions. He cautioned him, however, against his very guides, telling him they would murder their own parents if they could make any thing by it. The muleteer, in particular, had so much the aspect of a villain, that Mr. Antes charged a pair of pocket pistols before his eyes, and placed them in his belt, to show the fellow he was perfectly on his guard. Thus equipped, he left Larnica in the dusk of the evening; but he had scarcely proceeded a mile, when it began to rain most furiously, attended with vivid flashes of lightning, and frequent peals of thunder. As he was but imperfectly sheltered from the storm in his Turkish dress, he threw a bed-quilt which he had in his saddle over his head, and was thus led in a manner blindfolded, entirely at the mercy of his guides. After they had travelled three or four hours through a desart country, the muleteer, who had the charge of the luggage and the greater part of the provisions, discovered among them a bottle of spirituous liquor, with which he made so very free, that he lost the command of his mule, and the animal taking advantage of this circumstance, ran back to the place from which it came, with the whole of its cargo. As the other guide endeavoured to assist him in catching it, he likewise forsook Mr. Antes, who, from the manner in which he was covered, did not discover his solitary situation, until after some time he no longer heard his companions following him. He then uncovered himself; but it was so extremely dark, that except at short intervals, by means of the flashes of lightning, he could see nothing even at the distance of a yard. He now dismounted, and tied his mule by the bridle to some



brushwood near the path, which was only like a sheep's track, and began to walk back, in the hope of finding at least one of his guides; but reflecting on the little probability there was of success, he returned to the place where he left his mule, generally feeling the road, except when he obtained a glance of it by means of the lightning. When, at last, he got near the spot, the animal gave a sudden spring, broke loose from the brushwood, and ran away; but as it had come from Limasol, it of course followed the road to that place. After standing a considerable time, he perceived, by means of the lightning, a person coming towards him mounted on an ass; but he soon discovered, with regret, it was neither of his guides. The stranger, on approaching him, muttered something in Greek; but not finding himself understood, he proceeded on his journey. After Mr. Antes had remained long in a state of painful suspense, his conductor returned; but as neither knew the language of the other, he could give him no information about his luggage. On learning, however, that his mule had run away, the poor fellow dismounted from his own beast, and made him get upon it, while he himself walked by his side, through a deep mire, and under a constant rain. After sometime, they discovered the runaway mule on the path before them, and were at length successful in catching it. About midnight, they reached a mud-built cottage, and knocked at the door. Never in his life was Mr. Antes so happy to get under a roof; but on entering it, he found it was merely a shed, quite open on the other side. There was, however, a fire, and some men were lying on the ground around it.



After he had taken a very hearty refreshment, the master of the house conducted him into a kind of room, furnished him with a great coat, and showed him a place spread with a clean sheet, where he might take some rest. It was nothing but a large chest, yet hard as it was, he soon fell fast asleep, and rested most comfortably till about eight o'clock next morning, when his guide came in and made signs for him to rise and prepare for his journey.

The day was extremely cold and disagreeable. What had fallen in rain, the night before, in the valley, proved to be snow on Mount Olympus, and the neighbouring hills. The sea also was still greatly agitated, in consequence of the late storm, a circumstance which proved very harassing to our travellers. About three miles from the village where they had lodged, the road ran along the sands; and as the coast was perpendicular like a wall, and the waves rolled close on the shore, their legs were completely drenched in the water, which often reached even to the bellies of their mules. In this manner they travelled from morning till about four o'clock in the afternoon. Mr. Antes was so distressed that he almost gave himself up for lost, not thinking he was able to stand the wet and cold any longer. He, at length, however, plucked up courage, in the hope of warming himself by walking, as soon as they got clear of the waves. The moment this was the case, he alighted from his mule, but he soon found that he had not taken the exhausted state of his body into account, for after walking two or three hundred yards, he felt himself unable to proceed further, and was obliged, with the assistance of his guide, to mount his mule



again. About nine o'clock at night, they arrived at Limasol, at the house of a Greek who acted as English consul at that place. Two days after, the muleteer likewise arrived, with the articles committed to his charge, except only a few trifles which he had purloined.

After waiting about a week at Limasol, Mr. Antes embarked for Egypt, and in five days reached Alexandria; but as the plague had begun to make its appearance in that city, he hastened away as quickly as possible to Rosetta. The voyage from thence to Cairo, is usually performed in three or four days; but in this instance it occupied no less than eighteen. Besides, at that time, it happened to rain very heavily, as it often does in the lower parts of the Delta, in the winter season. The vessel in which Mr. Antes had embarked was old and crazy, and as the deck was far from water tight, the rain penetrated freely through it, so that he could not sit dry even in the cabin. In a short time his very bed began to moulder under him, and he was obliged to suspend it with a cord, to allow the water to run off underneath. Even his provisions ran short. His Janissary, or guide, had provided sufficient victuals for an ordinary voyage of five or six days, consisting of bread, fowls, and other articles; but as it was protracted so long, the bread by degrees became mouldy, and all the fowls were consumed. Besides, the wind was often so contrary and so boisterous, that they repeatedly lay at anchor, before some paltry village, for four or five days together. When the sailors were urged to exert themselves, they always exclaimed: "It is from God! It is so written in the book of fate?" At length



they arrived before Bulac, the harbour of Grand Cairo, where, as if to complete their misfortunes, the vessel stranded on a sand bank in the middle of the river, nor were they, with all their efforts, able to move her. Mr. Antes, however, got ashore in a boat, and proceeded to the house of his Brethren Hocker and Danke, who gave him a most cordial reception after all his toils.<sup>d</sup>

In January 1773, Mr. Bruce, the celebrated traveller, who had penetrated into Abyssinia about four years before, returned safe to Cairo. As the Brethren were sent to Egypt chiefly with the view of visiting that country, they made various inquiries at him concerning the character of the inhabitants, their government, religion, manners, and customs; but from the account he gave them, they perceived, that unless some great revolution took place, it would be vain to think of establishing a mission in a kingdom so bigoted to its own faith, and so torn by anarchy and intestine divisions. Mr. Bruce informed them, that the hatred of the people to all Europeans, and especially to their priests, was so violent, that they would stone a missionary to death the moment he opened his lips on the subject of religion; that though he himself had employed various means to avoid suspicion, it was with the utmost difficulty he had escaped persecution on account of his creed, and even this would have been altogether impracticable, had he not constantly resided at Court, and been protected by the king himself. These representations, which were after-

<sup>d</sup> Antes' Observations on the Manners and Customs of the Egyptians, p. 55.—Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 159.



wards confirmed by several Abyssinians themselves, destroyed all the hopes of the Brethren of being able to promote the interests of religion in that unhappy country.<sup>e</sup>

In the meanwhile, the Brethren, as they had little prospect of penetrating into Abyssinia, endeavoured to render themselves useful in Egypt. With this view, Danke made repeated visits to the Copts in Upper Egypt, particularly in the town of Behnesse and the neighbouring villages. In his intercourse with them, he did not directly attack their superstitious dogmas and unmeaning ceremonies; but he endeavoured silently to undermine their confidence in them, by pointing them to the sufferings and death of Christ as the only foundation of hope for a guilty creature. Though some of them entertained considerable suspicions of his orthodoxy, yet, in general, they heard him with attention, and even professed to approve of his views; but this arose partly from their inability to controvert the truth, and partly from their disposition to flattery. Danke was so far deceived by these appearances, that he formed favourable hopes of many of them, and imagined that his instructions had been useful to them; but he afterwards discovered with sorrow, that these expectations were without foundation.<sup>f</sup>

After the death of Danke, Mr. Antes proceeded to Behnesse for a few weeks, to renew the correspondence with the Copts. As the Nile had then inundated the country, the boatmen, after sailing a few days in the channel of the river, turned across

<sup>e</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 164.

<sup>f</sup> Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. i. p. 165.



the fields; and being now in no great danger of meeting with other boats, they began to display their character in its true colours; for such is the deceitfulness of their disposition, that though they may appear friendly and submissive while they are in town, they become extremely mischievous and insolent the moment they think themselves beyond the reach of control. Taking advantage of Mr. Antes' dress, they gave him out for a Turkish soldier, whenever it was possible to practise the stratagem, and in this manner made use of him as a tool to oppress the country people, and to compel the chiefs of the villages to provide the best provisions, not only for him, but for the whole company. Having done this one evening, without his knowledge, he told them, when he discovered it, that he should certainly expose them if they ever did it again. They repeated the farce, however, the very next morning, and even gave him a Turkish name, by which he was addressed by the Sheik of the village. Being entirely in the power of these people, and as he knew they would not have scrupled to throw him overboard, if he offended them, he was obliged to let it pass, and not to contradict them, especially as the chief asked no questions. In his return to Cairo, the boat was twice attacked in the night by pilferers, who artfully approach the vessels by swimming under the water, snatch away whatever happens to lie within their reach, and suddenly disappear with their booty.<sup>s</sup>

In 1774, Mr. Antes went to Alexandria, to meet with Messrs. Roller and Wieniger, two new mis-

<sup>s</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 165.



sionaries who were expected from Europe, and to conduct them to Cairo. After the Brethren arrived, they were detained in that city for several weeks, and were obliged to lodge in the same house with some English travellers, among whom was a medical man who boldly avowed the principles of infidelity, took pleasure in ridiculing the Bible, and was continually throwing out sarcasms against serious piety. As he was previously acquainted with Mr. Antes, he frequently visited the missionaries, appeared to observe them very narrowly, though, at the same time, he was at no pains to conceal his dislike of the gospel. The evening before the Brethren left Alexandria, when he was sitting alone with Mr. Antes on the top of the house, he addressed him in the following manner: "Sir, I must beg the favour of you to answer me one question. I have now observed you all very closely, for several weeks, under a variety of circumstances: You do not hang down your heads, nor look gloomy, like many persons who pretend to be religious; you are frank and cheerful, and yet you will not join in our conversation. There seems to be something which renders you proof against all temptations. Pray tell me what that is, and how you came by it." To this Mr. Antes replied: "Though I have always avoided forcing my sentiments upon you, as long as you appeared not to wish it, yet as you now ask me the question, I am willing to satisfy you. I have likewise closely observed you, and cannot but say that I often pitied you, for you seem to labour under the same disease as I once did. I have now heard many of your objections, and the reasons you assign for not giving credit to what is recorded in



the Bible ; yet you have never told me any thing new, for the same things passed through my mind when I was yet very young ; but with all my reasoning I found no rest to my soul, and cannot but think that this also is the case with you.” As he did not deny the charge, Mr. Antes proceeded to inform him that it was by faith in Christ he obtained peace to his troubled conscience, and that it was by strength derived from him that he was enabled to overcome his evil propensities. “ And now,” added he, “ though I still feel, with the Apostle Paul, that in me dwelleth no good thing ; yet whenever my natural depravity shows itself, I immediately apply for relief to the same source where I first found it, and am never disappointed. This is the cause why I and my brethren appear cheerful ; for no one has more reason to be so, than he who feels the peace of God in his soul.” When the doctor heard this simple statement, he replied, with a deep sigh : “ I fear there is something in what you have said.” He afterwards showed the Brethren great attention, and promised to write Mr. Antes, but the latter never received any letter from him, nor did he learn what became of him till many years afterwards, when an English gentleman, who was present when the accident happened, told him that he was killed at Naples by a fall from his horse.<sup>h</sup>

During the residence of the Brethren in Egypt, the country was in a state of the greatest anarchy and confusion : sometimes one party, sometimes another prevailed. In consequence of these frequent changes, there was nothing like the adminis-

<sup>h</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 167.



tration of justice in the land. The rulers themselves, were guilty of the greatest oppressions, both toward their own people, and to such Europeans, as were resident in the country.<sup>i</sup>

In November 1779, Mr. Antes had the misfortune to fall into the hands of one of the Beys, who, in the hope of extorting money from him, treated him in a most barbarous manner. As his occupation was chiefly of a sedentary nature, he found it necessary for the preservation of his health, to take frequent exercise in the open air, especially as the place of his residence was in a close insalubrious part of the town. On this account he often went into the fields; but the heat of the climate was so enervating, that when he had no particular object to call forth his activity, he was always inclined to sit down and rest himself under the shade of a tree, by which means the chief aim of his walk was frustrated. To remedy this, he sometimes took a fowlingpiece with him, particularly in winter, when there was commonly plenty of game, which the inhabitants of every description are at perfect liberty to shoot, as the Turks are too indolent to fatigue themselves with that exercise. To meet the Beys, however, or other men in power, was dangerous, as they were always ready, under some pretext or other, to extort money, especially from Europeans, whom they generally supposed to be rich; but as they had commonly a numerous train with them, it was easy from the flatness of the country, to perceive them at a considerable distance, and to avoid them. In this way Mr. Antes had eluded them for

<sup>i</sup> Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. i. p. 381.



many years ; but one day when he was out on this diversion, in company with the secretary to the Venetian consul, he and his companion were observed by some Mamelukes belonging to one Osman Bey, as they were returning home. The tyrant himself and his train were near at hand ; but they were concealed from their view by some hillocks of rubbish, which are very numerous all around Cairo, several of which are so high as to overlook almost the whole city. Two of the Mamelukes immediately rode up toward them at full gallop, with drawn swords in their hands, followed by others on foot. They instantly stripped them of their fur coats, shawls, and whatever else of value they had about them, and demanded, at the same time, one hundred maktubs, or Turkish zechins, each in value about seven shillings and sixpence, threatening to carry them before their master unless they immediately complied with their wishes. Mr. Antes told them they had no such sum about them, and taking out his purse offered it to them. They at first took it, but finding it contained only about twenty-five shillings, in small silver pieces, they threw it back again with disdain, crying, “ Da Sikab,” that is, gold. As he knew he had nothing to expect from them but ill treatment, he told them he had no gold upon him, but if they would go home with him, he would give them some. Upon this they cursed and swore, not being at liberty to leave their master. Meanwhile ten more of the ruffians came up on horseback, and repeated the same demand of gold, enforcing it with the threat of carrying him before the Bey if he refused to comply. Mr. Antes again answered, that he had none upon him, but he would



give them some if they would go with him. At last the principal man among them said: "Go you home and fetch your gold; but we will keep your companion here, and if you do not speedily return, we will cut off his head." As the poor Venetian, who could not speak a word of Arabic, was overwhelmed with fear and trembling, Mr. Antes could not think of leaving him in the hands of these merciless barbarians, and therefore he generously replied, that his friend might go and bring the money, but that he would remain with them. He had scarcely, however, advanced a few steps, when the servants fell upon him, and stripped him of the few clothes he had left, so that he was obliged to fly nearly naked into the city. By this time the sun had set, and as the Mamelukes durst not stay away from their master till the Venetian could return, one of them rode up to the tyrant, and told him they had seized a European from whom some money might be obtained. As the fellow soon returned with an order to bring the prisoner before him, they placed him between their horses, and dragged him to the place where the Bey was sitting with his train about him. Mr. Antes, on approaching the chief, addressed him with the usual salutation: "I am under your protection." To this, unless they are maliciously inclined, they commonly reply: "You are welcome." But the Bey, instead of answering him, stared furiously at him, and asked: "Who are you?" "I am an Englishman," replied Mr. Antes. "What are you doing here in the night?" said the tyrant: "You must be a thief. Aye, aye, most likely the one who did such a thing the other day." To this Mr. Antes



answered : “ I was entering the city half an hour before sunset, when I was seized by your Mamelukes, and detained till now, when, indeed, it is dark, but yet not an hour after sunset, the regular time for shutting the gates.” Without making any reply, the Bey ordered one of his officers to carry him to the castle, a building at some distance from the town, situated in an extensive sandy plain, where most of the Beys had houses, and exercised their Mamelukes.

Every month, one of the Beys in rotation took his station at this place, in order to guard the city by night against the depredations of the wandering Arabs ; and it so happened that this was the turn of Osman Bey. Before he was removed, Mr. Antes wished to say a few words more in his own behalf ; but he was prevented by a horde of servants, who are always glad of an opportunity to insult a European. One spat in his face, two others kicked him on the side, while another put a rope about his neck made of the filaments of the date tree, which is much rougher than horse hair. By this rope, a fellow in rags was ordered to drag him along, and another on horseback, armed with a sword and pistol, to guard him. In their way to the castle, they passed a gentle slope, with a large garden, surrounded by a mud-wall on the left ; and as the gardens here consisted chiefly of irregular plantations of orange, lemon, and other prickly trees, through which no horse can pass, it occurred to Mr. Antes, that he might cut the rope by which he was held, and make his escape over the wall ; but on searching for his knife, he found it was gone. Soon after, the fellow in rags advised him to give



money to the guard, who would then let him escape. At the sound of the word *money*, the guard, instantly came galloping up to him, and asked, whether he had any left. Mr. Antes replied that he would give him what he had if he would let him go; and accordingly he gave him the purse which the Mamelukes had refused. Having looked at it, the ruffian put it into his pocket without saying a word, but still drove him forward to the castle. Here Mr. Antes was thrown into a dungeon, half under ground; a large iron chain was put about his neck, secured at one end by a padlock, and fastened at the other to a piece of timber. In about half an hour the Bey himself arrived with his retinue, lighted flambeaus being carried before him. He alighted, walked up stairs into a room, sat down in a corner, while all his people placed themselves in a circle round him. Mr. Antes was then sent for, unchained, and led up to the chamber by two men. In going up stairs, he heard the rattling of the instruments used for the bastinado, and immediately guessed what was before him. On entering the room, he found a small neat Persian carpet spread for him, which was in fact a piece of civility, for the common people when about to receive the bastinado, are thrown on the bare ground. After asking him a question or two, the Bey exclaimed, "Throw him down." Mr. Antes then inquired what he had done. "How, you dog," answered the tyrant, "dare you ask what you have done? Throw him down." The servants immediately threw him flat on his face, and with a strong staff, about six feet long, having a piece of an iron chain fixed to both ends, confined his feet above



the ancles. Two of them, one on each side, then twisted the staff and chain together, so as to turn up the soles of his feet; and being provided with what is called a corbage, which consists of a strap of the skin of the hippopotamus, about a yard in length, somewhat thicker than a man's finger, and very tough and hard, they waited for the orders of their master. When they had placed him in this position, an officer came and whispered in his ear, "Do not suffer yourself to be beaten; give him a thousand dollars, and he will let you go." Mr. Antes, however, reflected, that should he now offer any thing, the Bey would probably send one of his men with him to receive it, and that he would be obliged to open, in the presence of this officer, his strong chest, in which he kept not only his own money, but considerable sums belonging to others, which he had received in payment for goods belonging to different merchants, and that the whole of this would, in all probability, be taken from him. Being determined, therefore, not to involve others in his misfortunes, he said "Mafish," that is, "No money;" upon which the Bey immediately ordered the servants to strike. They laid on at first pretty moderately; but yet Mr. Antes gave himself up for lost, considering that his life was in the hands of a capricious tyrant, to whose unrelenting cruelty many others had fallen a sacrifice. Having therefore no other refuge, he commended his soul into the hands of his heavenly Father, and he experienced his gracious support on this trying occasion, in so remarkable a manner, that the fear of death was entirely destroyed. After they had beaten him for some time, the officer, supposing probably that



he might now have become more tractable, again whispered into his ear the word money, but now the sum was doubled. Mr. Antes again answered, "I have none here." They then laid on more roughly than before; every stroke was like the application of a red hot poker. At last the officer thinking that though he had no money, he might have some valuable goods, once more whispered in his ear something to that effect. As Mr. Antes knew that English fire-arms often attract their fancy even more than money, he offered them an elegant blunderbuss, richly mounted with silver, which he could have got without opening his strong chest. The Bey having inquired what he said: the officer, exclaimed with a sneer, "Only a blunderbuss." To this the tyrant replied, "Beat the dog." They now began to lay on with all their might. The pain at first was excruciating beyond conception, but after some time all sensation ceased; it seemed only like beating a bag of wool. When the Bey at length perceived that no money could be extorted from him, he probably thought that the prisoner might in fact be a poor man, and therefore ordered them to take him away. Upon this they loosed his feet; but yet he was obliged to walk down to the dungeon with the chain about his neck. In about half an hour, a messenger came with orders to bring him up again. The servants now took off the chain, and after carrying him till he was near the door, told him to walk in or the Bey would beat him again. Mr. Antes was afraid some one had told him, that with a little more beating, money might yet be obtained from him. There are instances, indeed, of the bastinado being repeated for three days



successively, to the number of one or two thousand strokes. Persons of very vigorous constitutions may still perhaps survive; but in general, after five or six hundred strokes, the blood gushes from the mouth and nose, and the unhappy wretch dies either under the torture, or immediately after.

When Mr. Antes entered the chamber, the Bey said to one of his officers, "Is this the man of whom you told me?" The fellow having stepped up to the prisoner, and stared him in the face, as if narrowly to inspect his features, on a sudden lifted up his hands, and exclaimed, "By Allah it is! Why, this is the best man in all Cairo, and my particular friend. Oh! how sorry am I that I was not here before to tell you so," with other expressions of a similar kind. To this the Bey replied, "Then take him. I give him to you; and if he has lost any thing, see to get it restored." Mr. Antes had never in his life seen the officer before; and he soon perceived that the whole was merely a trick to get rid of him in a decent manner, and to put a little money into the pocket of his pretended deliverer. He was obliged to walk once more till he was out of the Bey's sight, when the servants of his "particular friend" took him up and carried him to his house, which was at a considerable distance. Here the officer gave him something to eat, and made him a tolerably decent bed, which was the more welcome to him, as he had lost most of his clothes, and felt extremely cold. Mr. Antes asked him, Whether what he had suffered was a proof of the boasted hospitality of his countrymen to strangers? but he got only the usual answer, "It is from God! It is so written in the book of fate, which cannot



be altered!" After the officer had anointed his feet with balsam, and tied some rags about them, Mr. Antes lay down to rest, but spent a very uncomfortable night, suffering, as might naturally be expected, most exquisite pain. In the morning, the artful fellow asked him, whether he was acquainted with the master of the customs; and being answered in the affirmative, he offered to carry him to his house. Having set his patient on an ass, while he himself mounted a horse, they proceeded toward the city, accompanied by another soldier. On approaching the gate, the officer told him to take off his rags, as it would be a disgrace to him to ride into the town in that condition. "No disgrace to me," said Mr. Antes, "but to him who has treated me so shamefully." "It is from God," was the answer of the officer. On arriving at the master of the customs' house, Mr. Antes requested that person to settle every thing for him with his pretended deliverer; and on summing up the fees, it was found that he had about L.20 to pay for this piece of service. Being then carried home, he was put to bed, and was confined to it for about six weeks, before he could walk even on crutches; and for more than three years after, his feet and ancles, which had been greatly hurt by the twisting of the chain, were very liable to swelling.<sup>k</sup>

In May 1783, the mission to Egypt, which the Brethren had prosecuted with so much patience and perseverance, was at length abandoned. Their residence in that country was attended with so much

<sup>k</sup> Antes' Observations, p. 115.—Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 169, 171, 174.



danger; their labours among the Copts were accompanied with so little success, and their prospect of being able to penetrate into Abyssinia, was so small, that it was deemed inexpedient to persist any longer in so hopeless an undertaking.<sup>1</sup>

## SECTION VIII.

### LABRADOR.

IN May 1752, four missionaries sailed from London for the coast of Labrador, on board a vessel which some Brethren, in company with several other merchants, had fitted out to trade with that country. They took with them a house ready framed, a boat, various kinds of implements, and seeds for the cultivation of the ground; and immediately on their arrival, began to make preparations for their settlement in the country. Meanwhile, the ship proceeded to the northward, for the purpose of trade; but as the Esquimaux were afraid to venture on board on account of the guns, Erhardt, the mate, a member of the Brethren's Church, was induced to go ashore in an unarmed boat, with other five men, in a bay between the islands. This circumstance, for the present, proved the ruin of the mission. Neither Erhardt nor his companions ever came back, and as the ship had no other boat, it was impossible to send in quest of them. On returning to the missionaries, the captain represented to them his distress; that having lost the best of his men,

<sup>1</sup> Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. i. p. 382.



together with the boat, he was not able to accomplish the voyage homeward, and therefore he begged them to go back with him and assist in the management of the vessel. Under such circumstances, they could not refuse his request. They left the country with regret; but it was in the hope of returning the following year. On their arrival in England, however, it was not deemed expedient to renew the attempt, until information should be received of the safety of Erhardt and his companions, and as on the return of the ship the ensuing season, some of their bodies were discovered, from which it was concluded they had been murdered by the savages, the mission was for the present abandoned.<sup>a</sup>

In April 1764, Jens Haven, who had laboured for some years as a missionary in Greenland, sailed from England with the design of renewing the attempt to establish a mission in Labrador. On arriving on the coast, he had great difficulty in meeting with any of the Esquimaux, as they retired whenever he landed; but at last, he fell in with a number of them on the island of Quirpont, on the north-east point of Newfoundland. Though the Greenland and the Esquimaux languages are now materially different, yet they appear to have been originally the same, and there was still so great a similarity between them, that he was able to make himself understood by them, a circumstance which struck them with no small degree of astonishment, as this had never before been done by any European. He informed them that the design of his voyage

<sup>a</sup> Crantz's Hist. Breth. p. 404.



was to make known to them the true God, and the way to heaven; and after being treated by them for some days with all imaginable kindness, he took leave of them, promising to return the following year.<sup>b</sup>

In May 1765, Jens Haven, accompanied by Christian L. Drachart, who had been many years one of the Danish missionaries in Greenland, and two others of the Brethren, sailed again for Labrador, on board of one of his Majesty's ships of war. In the course of this visit, they met with some hundreds of the Esquimaux, and had frequent opportunities of making known to them the truths of religion; but the savages understood them very imperfectly, partly, perhaps, from the difference between the Greenland and the Esquimaux languages, and partly from the nature of the subject. When Drachart represented to them the general depravity of mankind, they allowed that what he said was true of the Kablunats, as they style foreigners; but as for them they were good men. When he told them of the Greenlanders who had been washed from their sins in the blood of Christ, they alleged they must have been very bad people. When he spoke to them of the Redeemer, they imagined he was some great personage who would save them from the Kablunats, and assist them against their enemies in the north. At first they heard him with great eagerness; but afterwards, it was no easy task to gain their attention. He had similar difficulty in getting them to listen to what he had to tell them in the name of the Governor of Newfoundland. A written declara-

<sup>b</sup> Crantz Fortsetzung der Hist. von Gronland, p. 291, 312.  
—Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 103.



tion of friendship by that gentleman, which was read to them, they would on no account receive into their hands, from an apprehension that there was something living in it, which might afterwards do them injury, since it communicated the thoughts of a man at a distance, which they imagined must be the effect of sorcery. Indeed, the Esquimaux, on many occasions, discovered extreme jealousy of their visitors. The Brethren, on the contrary, went freely among them, without indicating any signs of fear. Shortly before they left the country, two of them, through necessity, passed a night on shore, a circumstance which contributed not a little to establish the confidence of the savages in them, especially as they appeared among them without any weapons. Anxious, however, as the Brethren were to establish a mission on the coast of Labrador, a variety of circumstances rendered it necessary to defer it for the present.<sup>c</sup>

In May 1770, Jens Haven and Christian L. Drachart, sailed again for Labrador, accompanied by Stephen Jensen, another of the Brethren, with the view of exploring the coast, and fixing on a suitable situation for a settlement. Previous to their departure, they received a grant of land from the British Government, which lays claim to the whole of this coast; but in order to render their title to it quite unexceptionable, the missionaries purchased the ground on which they fixed, from the savages. Having thus accomplished the object of their voyage,

<sup>c</sup> Cranz Fortsetzung der Hist. von Gronland, p. 288, 297, 314—Crantz Hist. Breth. p. 607.



they returned to London to make preparations for settling in the country.<sup>d</sup>

In May 1771, Haven, Drachart, Jensen, and a number of other Brethren, sailed from England, and after a tedious and dangerous voyage, they arrived at the place which they had previously chosen for a settlement. This spot was in the 57° North Latitude, and was called by them Nain. Having brought with them the materials of a framed house, they began immediately on their arrival, to erect it; but with all their exertions, they had difficulty enough to finish it before the commencement of winter, which in Labrador is uncommonly severe. Rum freezes in the open air like water; and rectified spirits soon become thick as oil. Though they kept large fires night and day, yet the windows and walls of their house were all the winter covered with ice, and their very bed clothes froze to the wall. The few summer months on the other hand are proportionally hot, the thermometer often rising to about 75° or 80°, and then the country is infested with immense swarms of musquitoes, which prove extremely troublesome to the inhabitants. In this inhospitable region the missionaries were able to procure very little provision, and as the ship with supplies did not arrive till near the commencement of winter the following year, their situation was truly distressing. Two pieces of meat were all they had left: and they could expect little or no assistance from the Esquimaux, as they were so improvident, that they themselves were often reduced to the

<sup>d</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 108.—Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. i. p. 125.



greatest straits. They had, however, collected a quantity of berries from the hills, dried them, and laid them up in store for the winter. Such was the situation of the Brethren when the arrival of the vessel with provisions relieved their distress: "Had you seen," say they, "the joy which reigned among us when we heard that the ship had arrived, you would certainly never forget it. We had given up all hope of her this season, and had devoted ourselves to extreme poverty; but yet, we cannot say that a dejected spirit prevailed among us. We had resolved to surrender ourselves up to all circumstances, trusting that he who had sent us hither, who has counted the hairs of our head, and without whose permission none of them can fall to the ground, would preserve us."<sup>c</sup>

From their first arrival, the Brethren were treated by the Esquimaux in a friendly manner, and in a short time the most perfect confidence was established between them. No European would formerly have ventured alone among these savages, or have passed a night with them on any consideration whatever; but the missionaries travelled over the ice, notwithstanding the severity of the season, visited them in their winter houses, and slept among them many nights successively. These visits the Esquimaux were not backward to return. When the weather permitted, many of them came to Nain in their sledges over the frozen sea, and as soon as the ice was gone, they came in still greater numbers in their kajaks. At one time there were no fewer than

<sup>c</sup> Brief Account of the Mission of the Brethren in Labrador, 1774, p. 3, 11, 27.—Edin. Encyclop. vol. xii. p. 485.



thirty-six tents pitched in the neighbourhood of the missionary settlement, which must have contained upwards of three hundred persons. Such, indeed, was the confidence of the savages in the Brethren, that when they set off for the islands, they committed to them their most valuable goods, and often left even their wives and children under their care.<sup>f</sup>

In the meanwhile the missionaries did not neglect the principal object of their settlement in the country. Scarcely had they arrived when they began to make known the gospel to the savages; but here they had many difficulties to encounter. The Esquimaux were in a great measure ignorant of the first principles even of natural religion, so that there was little the Brethren could lay hold of to impress their consciences. They seemed, indeed, to have some idea of a Supreme Being who made the heavens and the earth; yet, so feeble was the impression, that no traces of religious worship were discovered among them. Even of their own guilt and depravity, they seemed to have little consciousness; for though they were the slaves of the most brutal passions, and committed all manner of sin with greediness, yet they had always at hand some apology for their conduct. The liars consoled themselves that they were not thieves; the thieves that they were not murderers; the murderers that they were not Kablunats, *i. e.* Europeans and other foreigners, to whom, it seems, they assign the highest place in the scale of criminals. When the Brethren represented to them some of the grand truths of the gospel, they often expressed their wonder at what was told them:

<sup>f</sup> Brief Account of the Mission to Labrador, p. 9. 13, 22, 24.



at other times they would listen to nothing of a religious nature.<sup>s</sup>

In 1774, Haven, Brasen, Lister and Lehmann, four of the Brethren, undertook a voyage to the north with the view of exploring the coast, and selecting a spot for a second settlement, as Nain was not found a convenient place for the Esquimaux obtaining provisions. They embarked in a small vessel which had been sent to them for this purpose from Newfoundland. In every place which they visited they were received by the savages with great kindness, and were even entreated by them to come and settle among them. But though they accomplished the principal object of their voyage, they met with disasters, of which, happily, we have few examples in the records of missions. On their return, their little bark was driven among rocks and wrecked. After passing a most anxious night, they, at the dawn of day, betook themselves to the boat; but, in endeavouring to reach the shore, it also stranded on a rock and went to pieces. Two of the Brethren, Brasen and Lehmann, were drowned; the other two, Haven and Lister, together with the crew, saved themselves by swimming to a naked rock. Here they suffered much from cold and hunger; and they must ultimately have perished, had they not found means to draw their shattered boat on shore, and to patch it up so as to venture again with it to sea. After four days, they embarked once more in this crazy conveyance, and as the wind proved favourable, they in the evening reached Nain in safety.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>s</sup> Brief Account of the Mission to Labrador, p. 9, 13, 23.

<sup>h</sup> Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. i. p. 135.



In September 1776, Jens Haven proceeded, with three others of the Brethren, to establish a new settlement, on a small island called Okkak, about 150 miles to the north of Nain. This appeared to be one of the most eligible places in Labrador for a settlement. There were in the neighbourhood numbers of Esquimaux; a haven for boats and ships; a plentiful supply of wood; fresh water in summer, and for the most part in winter; abundance of fish, and even of whales. Here the Brethren began to make known the gospel to the Esquimaux; and though for several years, they met with many difficulties and discouragements, yet a number of the savages appeared to feel the power of religion on their hearts, and after some time, several of them were baptized.<sup>i</sup>

In August 1782, Jens Haven proceeded, with three others of the Brethren, to erect a third settlement, at a place to the south of Nain, which they called Hopedale. Here, however, their success was so small, that, after some years, they had thoughts of abandoning this part of the country. One circumstance which materially impeded the progress of the mission, was this, that the Esquimaux in the different settlements of the Brethren, as well as in other parts of the country, were seized with a violent mania for visiting the English settlements in the south. Some of their countrymen who returned from Chateau-bay, spread such favourable reports of the reception they met with, and of the goodness and cheapness of European goods, particularly of fire-arms, in that quarter of the country, that,

<sup>i</sup> Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. i. p. 315.



though their representations by no means accorded with each other, yet the temptation was too powerful to be resisted by a poor roving Esquimaux. Infatuated by these flattering accounts, most of the natives who lived with the Brethren, and even many of the baptized, left them and set off for the south. In vain did the missionaries represent to them the dangers to which they would be exposed in their spiritual interests; in vain did they expostulate with them. Nothing could dissolve the charm which the English settlements presented to their bewildered imagination. There they associated with the heathen, joined with them in their superstitious practices, and learned of them their ways. Many of these wandering sheep, indeed, returned; but others perished in the south of hunger, or met with other disasters, which, at length, had a considerable effect, in checking these migrations. <sup>k</sup>

In the course of their journies and voyages in this inhospitable quarter of the globe, the Brethren had many difficulties and dangers to encounter; but no less remarkable were the deliverances which they experienced. One example of this kind is so extraordinary, that we cannot avoid giving a particular detail of the circumstances.

One morning, Samuel Liesbisch and William Turner, two of the Brethren, set off from Nain for Okkak, in a sledge driven by one of the converts, and were accompanied by another sledge of Esquimaux, containing two men, one woman, and a child. \*

\* Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. ii. p. 59.—Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 50.

\* In Labrador, a sledge is drawn by a species of dogs, somewhat similar to the wolf in shape; and, like that animal, they



All were in good spirits ; and as the weather was clear, and the track over the frozen sea in the best order, they travelled with ease at the rate of six or seven miles an hour, so that they hoped to reach Okkak in the course of two or three days. After passing the islands in the bay of Nain, they kept at a considerable distance from the shore, both to gain the smoothest part of the ice, and to avoid the high rocky promontory of Kiglapeit. About eight o'clock they met a sledge with Esquimaux turning in from the sea ; and after the usual salutations,

never bark, but howl disagreeably. They are kept by the Esquimaux in greater or smaller packs, according to the wealth of the individual. They quietly submit to be harnessed to the yoke, and are treated with no great mercy by the savages, who make them do hard duty, and at the same time allow them little food. This consists chiefly of offals, old skins, rotten whale fins, entrails, &c. : or should their master not be provided with these, or similar articles, he leaves them to go and seek dead fish or muscles on the beach. When pinched with hunger, they will eat almost any thing ; and on a journey, it is necessary to secure the harness during the night, lest by devouring it they should render it impossible to proceed in the morning. In the evening, after being unharnessed, they are left to burrow in the snow wherever they please ; and in the morning they are sure to return at the call of the driver, as they then receive some food. In the harness, they are not allowed to go abreast, but are tied by separate thongs of unequal length, to an horizontal bar on the fore part of the sledge : An old knowing one leads the way, running ten or twenty paces before the rest, directed by the driver's whip, which is very long, and can be properly managed only by an Esquimaux. The others follow like so many sheep. If one of them receives a lash, he generally bites his neighbour, and the bite then goes round. Their strength and speed, even with an hungry stomach, are truly astonishing. *Period. Accounts*, vol. iii. p. 226.



the strangers, in the course of conversation, threw out some hints, that it might be as well for them to return. As the missionaries, however, saw no cause of alarm, and suspected that the travellers merely wished to enjoy the company of their friends a little longer, they proceeded on their journey. After sometime, their own Esquimaux hinted that there was a ground swell under the ice. It was then scarcely perceptible, except on lying down and applying the ear close to the ice, when a hollow disagreeable grating noise was heard, as if ascending from the abyss. The sky, however, was still clear, except towards the east, where a bank of light clouds appeared, interspersed with some dark streaks; but as the wind blew strong from the north west, nothing was less expected than a sudden change of weather.

The Brethren continued to pursue their journey till the sun had reached its height in the horizon, and as yet there was little or no alteration in the aspect of the sky. But as the motion of the sea under the ice had grown more perceptible, they became rather alarmed, and began to think it prudent to keep close to the shore. The ice also had cracks and large chasms in many places, some of them one or two feet wide; but as these are not uncommon, even in its best state, and the dogs easily leap over them, they are frightful only to strangers.

As soon, however, as the sun declined toward the west, the wind increased to a storm, the bank of light clouds from the east began to ascend, and the dark streaks to put themselves in motion against the wind. The snow was violently driven about by partial whirlwinds, both on the ice and from off



the peaks of the neighbouring mountains. The ground-swell had now increased so much, that its effects on the ice were very extraordinary, as well as alarming. The sledges, instead of gliding smoothly along as on an even surface, sometimes ran with violence after the dogs, and sometimes seemed with difficulty to ascend a rising hill; for though the ice was many leagues square, and in some places three or four yards thick, yet the swell of the sea underneath gave it an undulatory motion, not unlike that of a sheet of paper accommodating itself to the surface of a rippling stream. Noises, too, were now distinctly heard in many directions, like the report of cannon, owing to the bursting of the ice at a distance.

Alarmed by these frightful phenomena, our travellers drove with all haste toward the shore; but as they approached it, the prospect before them was awfully tremendous. The ice, having burst loose from the rocks, was tossed to and fro, and broken in a thousand pieces against the precipices with a dreadful noise, which, added to the raging of the sea, the roaring of the wind, and the drifting of the snow, so completely overpowered them, as almost to deprive them of the use both of their eyes and ears. To make the land was now the only resource that remained; but it was with the utmost difficulty the frightened dogs could be driven forward; and as the whole body of ice frequently sunk below the surface of the rocks, and then rose above it, the only time for landing was the moment it gained the level of the coast, a circumstance which rendered the attempt extremely nice and hazardous. Through the kindness of Providence,



however, it succeeded. Both sledges gained the shore, and were drawn up on the beach, though not without great difficulty.

Scarcely had they reached the shore, when that part of the ice from which they had just escaped burst asunder, and the water rushing up from beneath, instantly precipitated it into the ocean. In a moment, as if by a signal, the whole mass of ice, for several miles along the coast, and as far as the eye could reach, began to break and to be overwhelmed with the waves. The spectacle was awfully grand. The immense fields of ice rising out of the ocean, dashing against each other, and then plunging into the deep with a violence which no language can describe, and a noise like the discharge of a thousand cannon, was a sight which must have struck the most unreflecting mind with solemn awe. The Brethren were overwhelmed with amazement at their miraculous escape; and even the Pagan Esquimaux expressed gratitude to God on account of their deliverance.

The Esquimaux now began to build a snow-house about thirty paces from the beach; and about nine o'clock at night, all of them crept into it, thankful for such a place of refuge, wretched as it was. Before entering it, they once more turned their eyes to the sea, and beheld, with horror mingled with gratitude, the enormous waves driving furiously before the wind, like so many huge castles, and approaching the shore, where, with tremendous noise, they dashed against the rocks, foaming and filling the air with the spray. The whole company now took supper, and after singing a hymn, they lay down to rest about ten o'clock. The Esquimaux



were soon fast asleep; but Liebisich the missionary could get no rest, partly on account of the dreadful roaring of the storm, and partly on account of a sore throat, which occasioned him severe pain. Both the Brethren, indeed, were much engaged in thinking of their late miraculous deliverance; and with their thanksgivings, they mingled prayer for still further relief.

The wakefulness of the missionaries proved the deliverance of the whole party from destruction. About two o'clock in the morning, Liebisich perceived some drops of salt water fall from the roof of the snow-house on his lips. Though rather alarmed on tasting it, he lay quiet till the dropping became more frequent, and then, just as he was about to give the alarm, a tremendous surf, all of a sudden, broke close to the house, and discharged a quantity of water into it; a second quickly followed, and carried away the slab of snow which was placed as a door before the entrance. The Brethren immediately cried to the Esquimaux to rise and quit the place. Alarmed at the call, they jumped up in an instant: One of them with a large knife cut a passage through the side of the house, and each seizing some part of the baggage, threw it out on a higher part of the beach. They all immediately retreated to a neighbouring eminence; but scarcely had they reached it, when an enormous wave carried away the whole of the house.

Thus they were a second time delivered from the most imminent danger of destruction; but yet they suffered great distress during the remaining part of the night, as it was scarcely possible to stand against the wind, the sleet, and the snow. Before



the dawn of day, the Esquimaux cut a hole in the snow to screen the two missionaries, the woman, and the child. Liebisoh, however, could not bear the closeness of the air, and was obliged to sit at the entrance, where they covered him with skins to keep him warm, as the pain of his throat was extremely severe. As soon as it was light, they built another snow-house, about eight feet square, and six or seven feet high; yet still their situation was by no means comfortable.

The Brethren had taken no more provisions with them, than what was deemed sufficient to carry them to Okkak, and the Esquimaux had nothing at all. It was therefore necessary to divide their little stock into daily portions, especially as there appeared no prospect of their being soon able to quit this dreary place, and to reach the dwellings of man. There were only two ways in which this could be effected; either to attempt the passage across the wild unfrequented mountain Kiglapeit, or to wait for a new ice-track over the sea, and when that might form it was impossible to say. They, therefore, resolved to serve out no more than a biscuit and a half daily to each individual; and though their allowance was so small, they were all preserved in good health. Liebisoh very unexpectedly recovered, on the first day, from his sore throat, owing probably to the low diet on which he was obliged to subsist.

Meanwhile, the Brethren at Nain, and especially the wives of the two missionaries, were thrown into a state of the utmost anxiety and alarm, on account of our travellers. During the storm, they had felt considerable apprehension for their safety, though



it was by no means so violent in that quarter, as the coast is there protected by islands. The Esquimaux, however, who had met them, and had warned them of the ground-swell, in their obscure ambiguous manner, now threw out hints of their inevitable destruction. One of them, to whom Liebisck or Turner was indebted for some article of dress, came to the wife of the missionary, and said he should be glad of payment for the work: "Wait a little," answered she; "when my husband returns, he will settle with you, for I am unacquainted with the bargain between you." "Samuel and William,"\* replied the Esquimaux, "will return no more to Nain." "How, not return! What makes you say so?" After some pause, he replied in a low tone of voice: "Samuel and William are no more! All their bones are broken, and in the stomachs of the sharks." So certain was he of their destruction, that it was with difficulty he was prevailed on to wait their return: He could not believe it possible that they could have escaped the storm, considering the course they were pursuing.

Anxious as the two Brethren were to escape from their present dreary situation, yet, of this, there appeared little prospect. The weather had now cleared, and the sea, as far as the eye could reach, was so completely free of ice, that not a morsel was to be seen. One of the Pagan Esquimaux, who was a sorcerer, suggested that it would be well to "try to make good weather;" but this was, of course, opposed by the missionaries, who told him

\* The names by which the two missionaries were known among the Esquimaux.



that such heathenish arts were of no avail. They were now in such straits for provisions, that the Esquimaux one day ate an old sack made of fish skin; and the next, they began to devour a filthy worn-out skin, which had served them for a mattress. Their spirits too began to sink; but they possess this convenient faculty, that they can go to rest whenever they please, and, if necessary, can sleep for days and nights together. Besides, as the temperature of the air was rather mild, this was a new source of uneasiness to them. The roof of the snow-house was melted by the warm exhalations of the inhabitants; and as this occasioned a continual dropping, every thing, by degrees, was so soaked with water, that there was not a dry thread about them, nor a dry place in which to lie.

Meanwhile, however, the sea had begun to freeze; and, in a short time, it acquired a considerable degree of solidity. The Esquimaux belonging to the other sledge now resolved to pursue their journey to Okkak; while the Brethren, after remaining six days in this miserable place, set off to return to Nain. Their Esquimaux driver ran all the way round the promontory of Kiglapeit, before the sledge, to find a good track; and, after travelling about three hours, they reached the bay, and so were out of danger. Here they made a meal of the remainder of their provisions; and then proceeded on their journey, without again stopping till about twelve o'clock at night, when they reached Nain to the great joy of the whole settlement, and particularly of their own families.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 226.



In December 1800, an event occurred, which, though less remarkable in its circumstances, was more disastrous in its consequences. One of the missionaries at Hopedale, named Reiman, who had gone out to procure some fresh provisions by shooting, never returned, nor was heard of more. In the evening, his Brethren became much alarmed for his safety, particularly as the whole country was covered with ice, rain having fallen the day before upon the snow; and about seven o'clock they sent out four of the Esquimaux with muskets, to seek him, and to direct him toward them by the report of their guns; but they returned about break of day, without having seen or heard any thing of him. As soon, therefore, as it was light, the whole of the Brethren, together with all the Esquimaux, set off to renew the search. In several places, they discovered his footsteps in the snow, but these were soon lost on the ice; and though they persevered in the inquiry for nine successive days, examining every place they could think of with the utmost anxiety, yet it was without success. On the approach of Spring, they renewed the search, in order, if possible, to discover his remains; but this attempt also was of no avail. It was therefore impossible to determine in what manner he had perished, though of his death no doubt could remain.<sup>m</sup>

In June 1811, Benjamin Kohlmeister and George Kmoch, two of the Brethren, sailed from Okkak with the view of exploring the country to the north, and selecting a spot for a new settlement. They embarked in a shallop belonging to Jonathan, one

<sup>m</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 8.



of the converts, who was considered as the captain of the vessel. The expedition was deemed extremely hazardous, and it was confidently asserted, that should they even escape the dangers of the ocean, they would certainly be murdered by the Esquimaux about Ungava Bay, of whose hostile disposition many reports were in circulation; but happily these representations made no impression on Jonathan, and the other natives who were to accompany them. “When I hear people talking,” said he, “of the danger of being killed, I think with myself, Jesus went to death out of love to us: What great matter would it be if we were to be put to death in his service, should that be his good pleasure concerning us.”<sup>n</sup>

The voyage lasted about fifteen weeks, and though it was not without its difficulties, yet these were amply compensated by the discovery of two places on the western side of Cape Chudleigh, suitable for the establishment of a missionary settlement. One of these was in a bay formed by a river, which they called George’s River, in honour of his Majesty the King of England. The neighbouring country was in general level; the vallies were covered with verdure, and the gently rising hills with rein-deer moss. It was well supplied with wood and water: the ocean abounded with white fish, seals, and sea fowl; the land with rein-deer, hares, bears, and other animals. The other place was on the Koksoak river. Here there were a number of Esquimaux, and, though they at first appeared somewhat reserved, yet, on receiving a few trifling presents,

<sup>n</sup> Kohlmeister’s Voyage to Ungava Bay, p. 3, 7.



they became quite familiar, walking round their friendly visitors, and surveying them minutely from head to foot, as if they had been a new species of beings. Most of them had never before seen a European. On the whole this appeared the more eligible of the two places for the establishment of a missionary settlement. °

In June 1817, George Kmoch, J. Koerner, and J. C. Beck, embarked from London for Labrador. The two former had sailed the preceding year, from Nain for Hopedale, but not being able to reach that settlement on account of the ice, they had come involuntarily to England, and were now returning to the scene of their labours. After a voyage of about a month, they met with large masses of ice, which were more than ordinarily abundant this season, and had a singularly picturesque appearance, especially when the atmosphere was clear, and the sun shone bright upon them. As the icebergs floated along, they assumed a vast variety of forms, some resembling towers, castles, walls; others churches, wag-gons, and animals of various descriptions. When they or the ship changed positions, the same object acquired quite a new appearance: what before seemed a church, now looked like some huge monster of the deep. After sailing about for a fortnight amidst fields and mountains of ice, they encountered a furious storm from the north-east. Before them was an immense iceberg, to which they were driving with great velocity, without the power of avoiding it: there was at the same time, a large field of ice near them to which they fastened their grapnels,

° Kohlmeister's Voyage, p. 54, 57, 70, 83.



so that they were in imminent danger of being crushed to pieces between them. Providentially, however, they passed the iceberg without sustaining any material injury : had they touched it they would have been wrecked in an instant. The following night was dreadfully dark : the heaven was covered with the blackest clouds ; the sea was agitated by a furious wind ; while the crashing of the fields and mountains of ice against each other, added to the horror of the scene. The storm, indeed, dispersed the ice, and made openings in several places ; but this only rendered their situation more perilous, as when they got into clear water, the motion of the ship became more rapid, and the blows from the icebergs more violent. The shocks were repeated every five or ten minutes, and appeared continually increasing in violence. To describe all the horrors of this eventful night is impossible. As often as a field of ice was perceived through the gloom, they apprehended the vessel would be shattered to pieces, and themselves consigned to a watery grave. After remaining full ten hours in this dreadful situation, they found themselves in clear water not far from the coast. They could scarcely believe they had got rid of the ice : all seemed like a dream. But their difficulties and dangers were not yet at an end. Though at no great distance from Hopedale, they had to sail near three weeks longer amidst icebergs, rocks and islands, now pleasing themselves with the hope of reaching that settlement, when they found an opening in the sea ; then meeting with disappointment, when they discovered that the passage was still completely blocked up. At length,



after a most difficult and dangerous voyage, they arrived at that place in safety. <sup>p</sup>

In 1821, the whole number of persons baptized by the Brethren at their different settlements in Labrador, from the commencement of the mission, was nearly as follows :

| <i>Begun.</i> | <i>Settlements.</i> | <i>Adults.</i> | <i>Children.</i> | <i>Total.</i>    |
|---------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1771          | Nain, .....         | 95             | 123              | 218              |
| 1776          | Okkak, .....        | 189            | 142              | 331              |
| 1782          | Hopedale, .....     | 102            | 116              | 218              |
|               | Total,              | 386            | 381              | 767 <sup>q</sup> |

The schools which the missionaries established among the Esquimaux, were well attended by the old people as well as by the young. It was very pleasing to hear them employed in their own habitations in reading the scriptures, and in singing hymns. They had family worship in all their houses, both morning and evening, and used to edify each other in a manner truly delightful. Besides a Spelling-book, a Catechism, and a Hymn-book, the Brethren published a Harmony of the Four Gospels in the Esquimaux language, and a translation of nearly the whole of the New Testament has been printed at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society. <sup>r</sup>

Before closing the history of this important mis-

<sup>p</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. vi. p. 270, 397.

<sup>q</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. vi. p. 446 ; vol. vii. p. 3, 7, 10, 161, 166, 169, 310, 317, 321 ; vol. viii. p. 91, 95, 100.

<sup>r</sup> Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 445, 451, 458, 462 ; vol. iv. p. 78, 107 ; vol. vii. p. xxii. 8.



sion, we may notice some interesting circumstances connected with the publication of the New Testament in the Esquimaux language. When the gospel of John, which was first printed, was distributed among the converts, they expressed their sense of its value in the most affecting manner. Some burst into a flood of tears: others pressed the little book to their bosom, and looked as happy as if they had enjoyed a foretaste of heaven. They used to take it with them when they went in search of provisions: and they spent their evenings in their tents or snow-houses, reading it with great delight. Several of the Esquimaux at Nain, having been informed of the nature and operations of the Bible Society, began of their own accord to collect seals' blubber, with the view of sending it as a contribution to that invaluable institution. Some brought whole seals, or part of a seal, according to their several ability: others brought portions of blubber in the name of their children, begging that their offerings might also be accepted, that so other heathens might be presented with that blessed book.<sup>s</sup>

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#### SECTION IX.

##### NICOBAR ISLANDS.

IN 1756, a commercial establishment was begun by the Danes from Tranquebar on the Nicobar Islands, which are situated in the bay of Bengal to the north of Sumatra, and it was intimated to

<sup>s</sup> Rep. Bib. Soc. 1812, Append. p. 42.—Ibid. 1813, Append. p. 32.—Periodical Accounts, vol. viii. p. 103.



the Brethren by a person of high rank at the court of Denmark, that it would give his Majesty, particular pleasure if some of them would settle as missionaries in that quarter of the world, and endeavour to convert the inhabitants to the Christian faith. To this proposal they readily consented; and though intelligence was in the meanwhile received, that the attempt to establish a settlement on these islands had miscarried, and that almost all the colonists had died, yet they were not discouraged by these disastrous circumstances. It was judged proper, however, that they should have a settlement at Tranquebar, on the Coromandel coast, in order to carry on the mission in the Nicobar Islands from that quarter, as it did not appear advisable to establish a colony in so wild and distant a region, immediately from Europe. To this plan the Danish government readily gave its consent.

In November 1759, George J. Stahlman, Adam Gotlieb Voelcker, Christopher Butler, and eleven other single Brethren, sailed from Copenhagen, for Tranquebar. Having on their arrival purchased a piece of ground about a mile from the town, they built themselves a house, together with some workshops and out-houses, wrought at their several trades, and met with good sale for the articles they made, at Tranquebar and the neighbouring Dutch and English settlements. This place they called *The Brethren's Garden*. For several years, however, they had no opportunity of making any attempt to introduce Christianity into the Nicobar Islands, as they were obliged to wait till the Danish East India Company should settle a colony on them. <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Crantz's Hist. Breth. p. 504, 507.



In 1768, the Danish government, after many delays, formed a new establishment on the Nicobar Islands, and six of the Brethren immediately went thither, and settled on one of them called Nancauwery. Several officers of the East India Company afterwards arrived from Tranquebar, with a party of soldiers and black servants, and brought with them a considerable quantity of merchandise. Most of them, however, died in a short time, so that at the end of eighteen months, only two European soldiers, and four Malabar servants, remained alive. This second failure deterred the Company from renewing the attempt; and thus the project of establishing a factory on the Nicobar Islands was abandoned. The four Brethren who still resided in the settlement were intrusted with the sale of such goods as remained; a commission from which they experienced no small inconvenience. <sup>b</sup>

In 1773, a vessel was sent from Tranquebar, which relieved them from this burden, by taking back such articles of trade as still remained on hand, the company having resolved entirely to abandon the settlement. Though the Brethren in Tranquebar endeavoured to keep up a correspondence with the missionaries in Nancauwery, and to send them supplies of the necessaries of life by ships sailing to the neighbouring coast, yet they were for the most part unsuccessful. They were, therefore, obliged to charter a vessel for this particular purpose. In executing this plan, Mr. Holford, an English gentleman residing at Tranquebar, rendered them es-

<sup>b</sup> Crantz's Hist. Breth. p. 614.—Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. i. p. 158.



sential assistance. He joined them in fitting out a small vessel which sailed for Nancauwery, and returned with the natural productions of the island; and though the sale of these by no means repaid the expense of the undertaking, yet he took upon himself the present loss, and resolved to make another trial. A larger ship was now fitted out with supplies for the missionaries; but having missed the entrance to the Nicobar islands, which it is often extremely difficult to hit, on account of the winds and currents, she proceeded to Junkceylon, where she landed her cargo. In the meanwhile, the Brethren at Tranquebar, suspecting that this ship would not reach the Nicobar islands at the proper season of the year, had sent another small vessel thither, but she also missed the course, and came to Queda on the coast of Malacca. Here one of the Brethren who was a passenger in the former ship, found her, and after sailing to Junkceylon and taking on board the articles which had been there landed, he proceeded with her to Nancauwery, and was successful in making the island. The missionaries by this means obtained a temporary supply of their wants; but the difficulty of maintaining intercourse with them was never removed, as there was no regular trade with the Nicobar islands, and even those ships which promised to touch at them, were seldom able to fulfil their engagement.<sup>c</sup>

In September 1778, John G. Haensel, and another of the Brethren, named Wangeman, sailed from Tranquebar for the Nicobar islands. Wangeman died not long after his arrival, and Haensel, him-

<sup>c</sup> Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. i. p. 356; tom. ii. p. 3.



self, had not been three weeks on the island, when he was attacked by the seasoning fever, and was so ill, that it was not expected he would recover. One day he rose in a fit of delirium and offered to leave the house; but his Brethren interfered and conducted him back to his room. There he fell into convulsions and appeared in the last agonies of death. They, therefore, with many tears, commended him to God in prayer, and laid him in bed. He now remained so long in a state of insensibility, that they concluded he was dead, laid him out as a corpse, and began to dig his grave. Having at length opened his eyes, he was surprised at the circumstances in which he found himself, and seeing them in tears, inquired, Why they wept. Struck with astonishment, they exclaimed, What! are you alive again? and then informed him, that apprehending he was dead, they had been making preparations for his funeral. His recovery was extremely slow; and, indeed, during his residence on the Nicobar islands he enjoyed but little health; never, almost, being free of ulcers in his legs; and to the end of his life, he had every fourth day a regular attack in a greater or less degree, of intermittent fever, which no remedy nor any change of climate was ever able completely to remove.<sup>d</sup>

Besides clearing the land and planting it, in order to procure for themselves the necessaries of life, the Brethren endeavoured to lessen the expenses of the mission, by making collections of shells, serpents, and other natural curiosities, which they sent

<sup>d</sup> Haensel's Letters on the Nicobar Islands, p. 18.—Period. Accounts, vol. vi. p. 10.



to Tranquebar for sale, as there was at that time a great demand for productions of this kind in various parts of Europe. Mr. Haensel informs us, that whether he went into the woods, or walked along the beach, whether he travelled by land or by water, he was accustomed to examine every object he saw, and acquired great facility in catching some of the most dangerous creatures, without any risk to himself. Far from being afraid of serpents, he went out purposely to discover their haunts, in the jungles and among the rocks; and if he could only prevent them from slipping off into their holes, and irritate them so as to make them attempt to strike him, he completely gained his end. As a serpent in such circumstances bites whatever comes first in its way, he immediately presented his hat to it, which the animal violently seized with its fangs; then instantly snatching it away, he seldom failed to extract them by the sudden jerk; for as they are curved, they cannot readily be withdrawn, and being loose in the gums, they are easily disengaged. He next laid hold on the creature, which was now in a great degree harmless, pinned down its head, and tied it up. It is necessary, however, to be extremely careful when preparing the heads and refixing the fangs of these reptiles, that you are not lacerated by their teeth, or injured in any other way; for it is a singular fact, that a wound inflicted in this manner, even long after their death, produces dreadful, and often fatal consequences. <sup>c</sup>\*

<sup>c</sup> Haensel's Letters, p. 20, 35, 40.

\* At the Brethren's Garden near Tranquebar, Mr. Haensel, after his return to that place, had a shop or work-room for the purpose of stuffing these and other animals, preserving them in



Mr. Haensel, in his frequent excursions along the coast, was sometimes benighted, and could not conveniently return home; but, in these circumstances he was never at a loss for a bed. The greater part of the beach consists of a remarkably fine white sand, which, above the high-water mark, is perfectly clean and dry. Into this he easily dug a hole large enough to contain his body, and he likewise formed a mound as a pillow for his head. He then lay down, and by collecting the sand over him, buried himself in it up to the neck. His faithful dog always lay across his body, ready to give the alarm in case of the smallest danger or dis-

spirits, or otherwise preparing them for sale; and he sometimes employed two or three Malabar boys to assist him in these operations. In the neighbourhood of that town there is a small serpent, called the Split-snake. It is black, with a white streak along its back, dividing the body longitudinally. Its bite is extremely venomous; and as it is a very slender creature, it can insinuate itself into the smallest hole or cranny. By this means it often enters rooms and closets in quest of food, of which Mr. Haensel gives us the following example. "There was a door," says he, "in a dark part of my work-room, with a large clumsy lock upon it. One evening as I was attempting to open it, I suddenly felt a prick in my finger, and, at the same instant, a violent electrical shock, as if I were split asunder. Not thinking of a serpent, I at first imagined that my Malabar boys had, in their play, wound some wire about the handle, and that it was by this I was hurt; and therefore I asked them sharply what they had done to the door. They denied, however, that they had meddled with it; and when I made a second attempt to open it, I was attacked still more violently, and perceived the blood trickling down my finger. I then returned into my room and sucked the wound till I could draw no more blood from it; after which I applied to it some spirits of turpentine, and tied it up with a bandage; but being much hurried that evening with other business, I took no further no-



turbance. He was under no apprehension, however, from wild animals; crocodiles and kaymans never haunted the open coast, but confined themselves to creeks and lagoons; and there were no ravenous beasts on the island. He never suffered any annoyance, unless from the nocturnal perambulations of an immense variety of crabs, the grating noise of whose armour sometimes kept him awake. But they were well watched by his dog, and if any ventured to approach, they were sure to be seized by him, and thrown to a more respectful distance; or if one of a more tremendous size than ordinary, deterred the dog from exposing his nose to its claws,

tice of it. In the night, however, it swelled, and was extremely painful. In the morning, when I went into the work-room, I thought I felt an unpleasant musky smell; and on approaching the door already mentioned, the stench was altogether intolerable. I again asked the boys what nasty stuff they had brought into the room, for they were always playing themselves, but they still denied that they knew any thing about the matter. Having procured a candle, I then discovered the cause of all the mischief. About six inches of the body of a young split-snake hung out of the key-hole, perfectly dead; and on taking off the lock, I found the creature twisted into it, and so much wounded by the turn of the bolt, from my attempt to open the door, that it had died in consequence. It had been entering the room through the key-hole, when I thus accidentally stopped its progress and was bitten by it; and considering the deadly nature of the serpent's poison, I felt thankful to God, that, though ignorant of the cause of the wound, I applied proper remedies to it, in consequence of which my life was not endangered. I have been told that the bite of every serpent is accompanied, in a greater or less degree, by a sensation similar to an electrical shock. The name of split-snake which is given to this animal, we considered as descriptive not so much of its split appearance, as of the singular sensation occasioned by its bite."—*Haensel's Letters*, p. 40.



he would bark and frighten it away. Haensel had many a comfortable sleep in these sepulchral dormitories, though in most other parts of the East it would be extremely hazardous for a person to expose himself in this manner, on account of the number of wild beasts with which they abound.

Though the Brethren had little or nothing to dread from wild beasts on the Nicobar Islands, yet, in their visits to other places, they were sometimes in danger from them. On one of Mr. Haensel's voyages, either to or from Queda, a Danish ship hailed the vessel, and approaching incautiously, ran foul of the stern, and broke the flag-staff. Having put into a creek, some of the sailors landed near a wood to cut down a tree to make a new one. Mr. Haensel accompanied them, armed with a double-barrelled gun, with the view of procuring some fresh meat for supper. While they were at work, he walked on the outside of the wood, eagerly looking for some game, and soon discovered among the high grass, an object, which, by its motions, he mistook for the back of a hare. He immediately took aim, and was just going to fire, when the animal rose up and proved to be a tyger. Overcome with horror, his arm involuntarily sunk down; he stood perfectly motionless, expecting that the creature would instantly spring at him, and tear him in pieces. Providentially, however, the animal seemed as much alarmed as himself, and, after staring at him for a few seconds, turned slowly round, and began to creep away like a frightened cat, with his belly close to the ground; then gradually quickening his pace, fled with precipitation into the distant recesses of the wood. It was sometime



before Mr. Haensel recovered sufficient presence of mind to trace back his steps toward the beach, for his heart still trembled within him. As he approached the shore, there was a piece of jungle or low thicket before him, and he was turning to the left to pass round by the side opposite the boat, hoping he might yet find some game, when he observed the sailors labouring hard to drag the tree they had felled toward the water, and therefore he altered his course and went to their assistance. No sooner had he entered the boat, than he discovered on that side of the jungle to which he was first going, a large kayman, watching their motions, and which he would certainly have met had he gone by the way he originally intended. Thankful as he was for this second deliverance, he could not help discharging his gun at the animal's head, and by the sudden plunge which it made into the water, and the appearance of blood on the surface, as it was swimming to the opposite shore, it was evident the creature was wounded. He saw it reach the land, and crawl through the mud into the jungle.<sup>f\*</sup>

<sup>f</sup> Haensel's Letters, p. 36.

\* All the Nicobar islands which have fresh water lakes and streams, are over-run with the crocodile or alligator. There are two species of this animal, the proper crocodile and the kayman. The former is said never to attack living creatures, but to devour only carrion, and therefore it is not considered as dangerous. "Of the correctness of this opinion," says Mr. Haensel, "I had once ocular proof. I was walking at Queda, along the coast, and looking at a number of children swimming and playing in the water. On a sudden I observed a large crocodile proceed towards them from a creek. Terrified at the idea of their danger, I screamed out, and made signs to some Chinese to run to their assistance; but they laughed me



After the officers and soldiers who had accompanied the Brethren to the Nicobar Islands were all dead, and it was known that the missionaries would not abandon their post, the government at Tranquebar required that one of them should act as the Royal Danish Resident. This office was frequently a source of much vexation, and even of danger, to them. The Danes, when they formed their first settlement on one of these islands, which they called New Denmark, had conveyed thither a considerable number of cannon; but after the death of all the soldiers, the carriages rotted to pieces, and the guns were suffered to lie on the ground. On one occasion, a *Nacata*, or general of the king of Queda, as he styled himself, arrived at Nancauwery with a large prow, and five of the guns on board. Mr. Haensel being informed of this, considered it his duty as Resident to protest against the robbery, and spoke to him concerning it. The general flew into a violent rage, and began

to scorn as an ignorant stranger. I afterwards saw the monster playing about among the children, while the young creatures, diverted themselves by pretending to attack him and drive him away.

“ The kayman is less in size than the crocodile. It is extremely fierce, and seizes upon every creature that has life; but it cannot lift any thing from the ground, on account of the projection of the lower jaw. Part of the flesh of this animal is good and wholesome, when well cooked. It tastes somewhat like pork, for which I took it, and ate it with much relish, when I first came to Nancauwery; till finding, on inquiry, that it was the flesh of a creature so disgusting in its appearance and habits, I felt a loathing for it which I could never overcome, but it is eaten both by the natives and Europeans.” *Haensel's Letters*, p. 31, 39.



to use threatening language, pleading the orders of his sovereign. Mr. Haensel replied, with all the simplicity of truth, that his prince knew very well, that as he had laid nothing down there, he had no right to take any thing up, and that he would give notice of it to the king of Denmark. He then left him, but afterwards heard, that the fellow threatened to kill him, and thus prevent him from reporting what he had done. The natives also assured Mr. Haensel, that it was the general's intention to murder him; but that they would stay and defend him. They, accordingly, stopped till late in the night, when the Brethren desired them to return home, but could scarcely prevail on them to go away.

After they were away, and just as the Brethren were preparing to retire to bed, they heard a noise without, and immediately after, a violent knocking at the door. On opening it, Mr. Haensel was alarmed to see it surrounded by a great number of Malays; but though he was much afraid, he assumed an authoritative air, and kept his station at the entrance, as if determined not to let them in. The foremost, however, pushed by him, and then the Nacata himself came forward. As he held out his hand, Mr. Haensel offered him his in return, upon which the barbarian grasped it firmly, and dragged him into the house. The Malays immediately crowded into the room, and sat down on the chairs and on the floor, closely watching him, armed with their creeses or daggers. Though Mr. Haensel preserved a firm undaunted look, yet it is impossible to describe the inward feelings of his mind on this occasion, as he expected every moment to fall a



sacrifice to their fury. The Nacata then told him, that he had come to ask, Whose property the cannon were to be, the Resident's or his? To this question Mr. Haensel replied to the following effect: "You have come to the wrong person to make that inquiry; for I am only a servant of the king of Denmark, as you, according to your own account, are the servant of the king of Queda. Neither of us, therefore, can determine who shall have the cannon. Our respective masters, and they only, can settle that point. You have told me that you have received orders to bring them; and I can assure you that I have orders to protest against it: We have both therefore only done our duty. All now depends on this point, whether my king or your king has the best right to give orders on these islands, and to claim the property in question." On receiving this answer, the Nacata became quite furious, and began to talk of the ease with which the Malays could murder them all. Some of them even drew their daggers, and showed the missionary how they were tipped with poison. On a sudden they all rose up, and to his imagination seemed to rush upon him; but instead of this, they quitted the room, one by one, and left him standing alone in astonishment at their conduct. As soon as they were all gone, and he found himself in safety, he fell on his knees, and with tears in his eyes returned thanks to God Almighty, who had so graciously heard his prayers, and saved him from the hands of his enemies. His brethren, who had fled into the wood when the Malays first burst into the house, now returned, and they mutually wept for joy to see each other still in life.



After they had somewhat recovered from their fright, Mr. Haensel went to the village, and told their old Nicobar captain what had happened, upon which he sent a message to all the neighbouring villages, and in a short time great numbers of the natives arrived, well armed, and watched at the landing place all night. Had the Malays offered to return, not one of them, it is probable, would have escaped with his life. The Nacata, it seems, had said, that the Danish resident at Nancawery was a very great sorcerer, for he had tied their hands that they could do nothing to him. <sup>s</sup>

As the Nicobar Islands abound with those celebrated eatable nests which constitute one of the luxuries of an Indian banquet, great numbers of Malays and Chinese came thither in quest of them. These visitors always created much confusion and quarrelling among the islanders, by their knavery and frequent acts of assassination, and they likewise occasioned the missionaries no small vexation and trouble. In general, fifteen or sixteen, large prows, full of these vagabonds, came annually to Nancawery. Once when Mr. Haensel was at Manjoul, a small island to the eastward of St. George's Channel, a prow arrived there with about sixty Malays on board, commanded by a Nacata, who called himself Sayet Ismael, a priest of the king of Queda. He was the most civil, well-behaved Malay, the missionary ever saw; and, therefore, he advised him to stay where he was, to make a regular agreement with the natives about the price of the nests, to pay faithfully for them, and to maintain good

<sup>s</sup> Haensel's Letters, p. 65.



order among his men, so as to prevent all cause of complaint, and he assured him that, by this means, he would obtain a good cargo. The priest took his advice, and procured a considerable quantity of nests, while those who followed him got none at all. <sup>n</sup>

Among these was a man who styled himself a Prince of Queda, and had two Nacatas, some women, and a numerous crew on board his prow. Every where he committed the greatest acts of barbarity, and on the island of New Denmark, he murdered two of the inhabitants. Shortly after, he came to a small island in the neighbourhood of Nancawery, where he seized upon Sayet Ismael's prow, who, in consequence of this, came to the Brethren and begged their protection. Meanwhile, the prince heard that the missionaries had obtained a great number of nests, and as he thought it would be no difficult matter to plunder them likewise, he came to Nancawery with two large prows, filled with some of the most ferocious of the Malay race. They entered the mission house without any ceremony; and while Mr. Haensel, who was alone in the midst of them, was walking about the room, the prince inquired, Whether he had any bird nests? Having received an answer in the affirmative; the villain pretended that he was come to purchase them, and wished to see them. During this conversation, Mr. Haensel happened to step toward the door; and a Caffre servant who stood near it, imagined that he made a sign to him to call the natives to his assistance, though, in fact, he was so much

<sup>n</sup> Haensel's Letters, p. 32, 65.



agitated, that he did not even observe him. The man, however, ran immediately into the neighbouring village, and called the people together. Meanwhile, Mr. Haensel told the prince that he should not get a single nest from him, and reproved him sharply for murdering the two men in New Denmark, who were under the protection of his sovereign. Upon this the barbarian flew into a violent passion, saying, he would soon show him, that he had it in his power to seize all his bird nests; and as for the two men who had been stabbed on that island, he was not bound to answer for the deed to him.

Scarcely had the prince finished this insulting speech, when a party of the natives unexpectedly leapt in at the windows, with drawn sabres in their hands. The Malays, alarmed beyond description, asked, What was the meaning of this? "They come," said the missionary, "to prevent your committing more murders." In a short time, the house was surrounded by the natives, both men and women, armed with sabres, spears, and bludgeons. The prince and his men now began to beg Mr. Haensel to take them under his protection; but he, instead of returning them an answer, continued to reprove them for their base and treacherous practices, among which he particularly noticed their plundering people even of their own nation: "Who then," added he, "can trust to your word? You deserve punishment from those whom you have so often provoked by your injustice, and were I now only to lift up my hand, not a man of you would escape." Being sensible that they were entirely in his power, they began to entreat him to interpose in their behalf; and the prince offered to



restore all he had taken. "How can you," said the missionary, "restore the lives of those you have murdered? However, you shall for once keep your word, and restore Sayet Ismael, his prow, with the whole of its cargo." Having received his promise to this effect, Mr. Haensel informed him, that his men might go unmolested to their palongs, but that he himself must remain behind till Sayet Ismael's prow was delivered up to him. As, however, he was exceedingly terrified to stay alone, apprehending that the natives would murder him; and as even the priest himself interceded warmly in his behalf, it was at last agreed that he should accompany his people. Mr. Haensel then went out to pacify the natives; but it was with some difficulty he succeeded, as they were terribly enraged against the Malays, and they now had them completely in their power. Having at length told them, that he would consider their compliance with his request as a proof of their regard to himself and his brethren, they were satisfied, and of their own accord made a passage through their ranks for the robbers. Still, however, their appearance was extremely formidable, as they stood on each side armed with their spears and bludgeons; and the Malays were afraid to leave the house, till Mr. Haensel, after much entreaty, agreed to accompany them to their palongs. The prince himself seized his hand, and would not let it go till he had got safe into the boat.

Sayet Ismael returned that very night with his prow and cargo, thankful for the justice which he had obtained through means of the Brethren. For a time this event had a good effect in repressing the depredations of these ferocious visitors; but yet



Mr. Haensel was much intimidated by this unpleasant occurrence, and deeply regretted the necessity he was under of holding the office of resident or agent for government.<sup>i</sup>

With regard to religion, the inhabitants of the Nicobar Islands are in a most deplorable condition. Their notions of a Supreme Being are singularly perplexed; and it was even difficult to discover among them any fixed opinion of his existence or attributes. They are not professed idolaters, like most of the other Oriental nations. They have not even a particular word to express the name of God. They use the term *Knallen*, when they speak of him; but it only signifies *above, on high*, and is applied to many other objects. They believe, however, that this unknown Being is good, and will not hurt them; but wherein his goodness consists, they neither know nor care. But though the inhabitants of the Nicobar Islands pay little or no regard to a Deity, they are firm believers in the doctrine of devils; and it is to them all their religious ceremonies appear to be directed. They even ascribe the creation of the world to the *Eewee*, or Evil Spirit. When they do any thing wrong, and are reproved for it, they immediately answer, "It was not me; it was the devil that did it." If you convince them that they did it with their own hands, they usually reply, "The Eewee did not make me perfect." They speak of a great many kinds of devils, all of them malicious and disposed to hurt them, if they had not among them such great and powerful sorcerers, who, by their superior ability, can catch and bring

<sup>i</sup> Haensel's Letters, p. 72.



them into subjection. It is not wonderful that the conjurors should be able to impose on these poor ignorant creatures, for they really do possess astonishing dexterity. Every person who has visited the East Indies, knows with what curious slight of hand tricks, the jugglers amuse the people; but in the Nicobar Islands, where these arts are applied to what are considered religious exercises, the deception is so great, that an ordinary spectator is amazed, and is perfectly unable to account for them.<sup>k</sup>

The Brethren endeavoured to explain to these islanders, in the best manner they were able, the love of God to man, and the way of salvation through a crucified Redeemer. These things the savages heard with silent attention; but that they themselves were interested in them, was more than they could comprehend. When the missionaries told them, that they had come thither for no other purpose, but to make known to them their Creator and Redeemer, and begged them to reflect on what was taught them, they laughed in reply. Sometimes they even remarked, that they could not believe that the sufferings of one man could atone for the sins of another, and that, therefore, if they were wicked, what the Brethren told them concerning a crucified Saviour could do them no service; but they maintained that they were good by nature, and never did any wrong. When the missionaries, replied, that they had but lately murdered some people, and afterwards abused the dead bodies, thrusting their spears into them, mutilating them

<sup>k</sup> Haensel's Letters, p. 48, 51.



in the most wanton manner, and at last cutting them to pieces; and asked them, Whether this was a proof of their natural goodness? their answer was, “You do not understand the matter: These people were not fit to live: They were cannibals.”<sup>1</sup>

But though the inhabitants of the Nicobar Islands refused to embrace Christianity, they were always extremely friendly to the missionaries; and were not only forward to defend them against their enemies, as we have already seen, but in some instances they behaved with a generosity which could scarcely have been expected of savages. The Brethren used to buy from them such articles as they needed, and to pay them with tobacco at the current price. The natives, however, even when they had nothing to sell, would come for their portion of tobacco, which the missionaries never refused as long as they had any themselves, until, by the non-arrival of the ship, their stock was entirely exhausted. They then told the captain of the village, that as they had no more tobacco, the people need bring no more provisions, for they had nothing to give them in exchange. The chief did so; but yet on the very next day, the Brethren were more plentifully supplied than ever with the articles they wanted. The people would not even wait for payment; but hung up their fruit and meat about the house, and went away. The missionaries called after them and told them how they were situated, to which their visitors generously replied, “When you had plenty of tobacco, you gave us as much as you could

<sup>1</sup> Haensel's Letters, p. 20, 48.



spare; now, though you have no more of it, we have provisions enough, and you shall have what you want, as long as we have any, till you get more tobacco." This promise they most faithfully performed. Indeed, though they were an ignorant, wicked, uncivilized race, yet in general they were kind and gentle in their dispositions, except when roused by jealousy or other provocations, and then their headstrong passions hurried them into the greatest excesses.<sup>m</sup>

In 1781, the Brethren Heinrich, Fleckner, and Raabs, sailed for the Nicobar islands in the vessel which was employed in carrying on the communication between Tranquebar and Nancowery. But as the captain, either through negligence or inability, did not make the island, he proceeded to Junkceylon. Here the vessel, though belonging to a neutral state, was seized by a French privateer, merely, because on searching her, the crew found a few old English newspapers, the property of Mr. Wilson, an English gentleman on board, who had escaped from one of Hyder Aly's prisons. After being detained here about five months in a very vexatious manner, the Brethren and the mate, purchased a Malay prow for seventy-five dollars, and stole away in the night, as the Malay prince refused to grant them liberty to depart. The missionaries at Nancowery had long been in want of many of the necessaries of life, and now, instead of receiving a supply of provisions, their number was augmented to consume what little they had; but yet they rejoiced to see their Brethren, and did what they could for their

<sup>m</sup> Haensel's Letters, p. 27, 48.



relief. As the prow was utterly unfit to go to sea without new sails, those which it had being nothing but old rotten mats, they wrought up their whole stock of linen and sail-cloth, and even some of their sheets to make sails for it. When these repairs were completed, two of the missionaries left the Nicobar islands, and returned in it to Tranquebar. <sup>a</sup>

In September 1783, Jurgen Staal, one of the Brethren at Tranquebar, sailed for the Nicobar islands, with the view of visiting the missionaries, and carrying them a supply of provisions. The ship in which he embarked had been sent to Tranquebar by the King of Queda, and had on board about four hundred Malays, Moors, and Malabarians. She was to call with him at Nancawery, but she unexpectedly sailed past the Nicobar islands without being able to land at any of them, on account of the little wind and the adverse current. On arriving at Queda, Staal endeavoured to find some opportunity of proceeding with the supplies to his Brethren; but his applications to the captains of different vessels were all in vain. Every one avoided the Nicobar islands as they would do a place infected by the plague; and as to Nancawery, they declared it was a mere accident if they should be able to make it. He was even obliged to sell part of the goods which were destined for the missionaries, as he was not able to preserve them from the rats. After a delay of upwards of three months, he found a captain who agreed to go with him to Tranquebar by the way of Nancawery.

<sup>a</sup> Haensel's Letters, p. 21.—Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. i. p. 368.



They accordingly directed their course to the Nicobar islands ; but a few days after their departure, the Captain declared, he could not go near them on account of the hidden rocks by which they were surrounded. Staal was therefore obliged to pursue his course to Tranquebar with the goods which he had taken with him for the relief of his Brethren in Nancauwery, having performed in vain, a voyage of six months, including the time he spent on the Malay coast. °

In the meanwhile, the situation of the missionaries in the Nicobar islands became more wretched than ever. Here they lived destitute of every thing that renders life comfortable ; surrounded by savages ; separated from their Brethren throughout the whole world ; without any communications from their friends for years together. The island of Nancauwery was completely covered with trees, bushes, and plants ; the climate was extremely moist and unhealthy ; the house of the missionaries was so damp, that their very beds and mattresses rotted under them ; they were obliged to go barefooted, as they had neither boots nor shoes, and their stock of other clothes was nearly exhausted : their supply of provisions was scarcely more abundant ; rice, which was so putrid and so full of worms, that it was hardly fit for the inferior animals, they were under the necessity of using themselves. In consequence of these combined circumstances, they were so sickly, that a month seldom passed, without their labouring under fever or some other disorder ; and they became at length so feeble and

° Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. i. p. 372 ; tom. ii. p. 3.



emaciated, that they resembled creeping skeletons, covered with a thin pale skin, rather than living men.<sup>p</sup>

In August 1784, the government of Tranquebar, in consequence of orders from the court of Denmark, sent a ship to the Nicobar islands, for the purpose of conveying supplies to the missionaries, and of enabling them to maintain their post in that quarter. Difficult as it had always been to land at Nancauwery, the vessel made the island, not merely in this instance, but within a short period, she performed the same voyage two other times with similar success. Encouraged by these circumstances, the Brethren applied to their work with new vigour; and they brought to Nancauwery a wooden house of two stories, which had been left on the neighbouring island of Sombreiro, by some European settlers. In this house, they hoped to enjoy better health than formerly, as they proposed residing in the upper story, a point worthy of the attention of all missionaries in a warm, and especially in a moist climate. But though the mission assumed a more promising aspect in its external circumstances, it was attended with no greater success than before.<sup>q</sup>

It must, however, be acknowledged that the Brethren can scarcely be said to have made a fair attempt to Christianize the natives. Though they had an opportunity of conversing with some of the people in a kind of bastard, Portuguese, yet, in order to preach the gospel to the inhabitants in

<sup>p</sup> Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. ii. p. 114.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. tom. i. p. 369; tom. ii. p. 116.



general, it was necessary to acquire a knowledge of their own language. This, however, was a task of no ordinary difficulty. Not only were they without the ordinary help of grammars, dictionaries, and written books, but it was no easy matter to get acquainted with it by intercourse with the natives themselves. The inhabitants of the Nicobar islands are in general of so indolent a turn, that even talking seems a burden to them; and as long as they can express their meaning by signs, they are unwilling to open their lips. If a stranger enter their houses, they sit still and look at him; or, perhaps, pointing to some food, give him a sign to sit down and eat. There he may remain for hours, without hearing a syllable drop from their lips, unless he can begin himself, and then they will answer him in a friendly manner. Besides, both the men and women have always a large piece of the betel or areca nut in their mouths, which renders their speech so indistinct, that it is scarcely possible to distinguish between the sputtering sounds they make. Notwithstanding these and other difficulties, a few of the Brethren made some proficiency in the language, yet none of them acquired such a knowledge of it, as to be able to explain fully to the natives the way of salvation through Jesus Christ.

Most of the missionaries, indeed, in consequence of the extreme insalubrity of the climate, were cut off before they could learn the language, or just when they had advanced so far as to be able to converse with the natives; and thus their successors had to begin the work anew, and the prospect of



accomplishing the chief design of the mission was suspended from year to year. During the comparatively short period of its existence, eleven valuable missionaries found an untimely grave in Nancauwery, and thirteen more died soon after their return to Tranquebar, in consequence of the malignant fevers, and the obstructions in the liver, which they had contracted on that island. Besides, these disorders, from which they were seldom entirely free, are accompanied with such pain in the head, such constant sickness, such dejection of spirits, that the mind is perfectly stupified, and is overwhelmed with such desponding views of the possibility of relief and of future usefulness, as renders a person altogether unfit for exercising that unremitting diligence, and that active exertion, which are necessary in the conduct of a mission. <sup>s</sup>

Indeed, the great exertions of the Brethren in clearing and planting the land, and in other laborious exercises, which necessity imposed upon them, withdrew their attention from the grand object of their settlement on the island. Men who are destitute of all external comfort, who have a perpetual struggle to procure the common necessities of life, who, in the morning, scarcely know whether they shall have a morsel to eat through the day, are not in circumstances to make vigorous exertions for the conversion of the heathen. Besides, during some of the later years of the mission, there was a want of that love among the Brethren, and of that union in the prosecution of their labours, which should ever reign among Christian missionaries, and which

<sup>s</sup> Haensel's Letters, p. 62.



are essentially necessary to their success.<sup>t</sup> In consequence of these and other circumstances, it was at length resolved to abandon the mission.

In September 1787, Mr. Haensel, who had now returned to Tranquebar, was sent to Nancauwery, to bring away the only missionary who remained on the island. He was accompanied by a lieutenant, a corporal, and six private soldiers, who were sent by the governor to take possession of the premises, and to whom he delivered up every thing he could not carry away. No language can describe the painful sensations which crowded into his mind while he was executing this disagreeable task, and bringing to a close the Brethren's labours in the Nicobar islands. The sight of the burying ground where so many of his fellow missionaries lay, particularly affected him. He often visited this place, sat down, and wept over their graves. His last farewell with the natives, who flocked to him from all the neighbouring islands, was truly affecting. They wept and howled for grief, and begged that the Brethren would soon return.<sup>u</sup>

The mission on the continent of India, though not attended with so many trying circumstances, was scarcely followed with greater success. Several Brethren went to Calcutta, Serampore, and Patna, and resided in these places for some time, in the hope of promoting the interests of religion among the Hindoos; but their exertions were attended with little or no success. In Tranquebar the labours of the Brethren proved nearly equally fruitless: they did, indeed, baptize a few individuals; but

<sup>t</sup> Haensel's Letters, p. 22, 63.

<sup>u</sup> Ibid. p. 26.



most of these disappointed the favourable hopes they had formed of them. <sup>v</sup>

In 1795, the Brethren resolved to abandon the settlement at Tranquebar, as the maintenance of it was attended with great expense, while, at the same time, there appeared little hope of their being useful to the heathen in the neighbourhood, and no prospect of their being able to accomplish the original object of their settlement in India, the establishment of a mission on the Nicobar islands. In consequence of this resolution, several of the Brethren returned at different periods to Europe; and, at length, about 1803, the two last who had been left to sell the houses and ground belonging to the settlement, took a final leave of the country. <sup>w</sup>

<sup>v</sup> Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. i. p. 158, 352; tom. ii. p. 109, 111, 121, 141, 143; tom. iii. p. 353.

<sup>w</sup> Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. iii. p. 356.—Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 221.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.



# APPENDIX.

No. I.

## LIST

OF

### TRANSLATIONS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES

INTO THE LANGUAGES OF

PAGAN AND MAHOMMEDAN NATIONS.

**I**N the following list of translations of the Holy Scriptures, the author has included some which were originally designed for the use of Christians, because the same language is spoken by Pagans and Mahommedans, and they may therefore be employed in promoting their conversion to the faith of Christ. Though the catalogue is no doubt imperfect, yet he believes it is by far the most complete which has ever been published. The importance of such a list is obvious from this circumstance, that the author believes he could mention more than one instance in which translations of the Scriptures have been undertaken, within these few years, without its being known to the translators that versions already existed in the same languages. He cannot, indeed, help thinking, that there is an undue fondness in the present age, to make new translations of the sacred volume, and not a sufficient disposition to inquire after such as are already in existence. When a version of the Scriptures is undertaken into any language, it is obviously a matter of the highest impor-



tance, that the translators should endeavour to possess themselves of every version which may previously have been made into it. Unless this is done, a thousand independent translations may be made, and yet the last of them may be no better than the first. It is only by successive translators availing themselves of the labours of their predecessors, that we can expect a standard version to be produced in any language. As there is an undue fondness in the present age to make new translations of the Scriptures, so we apprehend there is an undue eagerness to usher them into the world, without subjecting them to that rigid examination, and those successive revisions, which are essentially necessary to the production even of a tolerable translation. Some versions, and, in many instances, even single books, have scarcely been completed, when they have been put to press. Many of the translations of the present day, labour also under a great disadvantage in not being made from the Original, but from the English, or some other version. Hence, beside their own imperfections, they must necessarily possess all the imperfections of the translation from which they are made. Without an assiduous use of those editions of the Original Scriptures which contain the various readings, of different versions both ancient and modern, and of an extensive apparatus of critical works on the sacred writings, it is vain to expect a good translation of the Bible. We have also to regret that the unnatural and capricious division of the Scriptures into chapters and verses, should in so many instances be retained. A translation of the sacred volume into a new language unquestionably presents a fair opportunity of introducing a more rational division, according as the sense may require. Because there may in many instances be a diversity of sentiment among good men, with respect to a right division of the Sacred Oracles, should a translator be condemned to follow one which all must allow to be wrong, which destroys the coherence, obscures the sense, and mars the beauty of divine revelation? If any advantages are supposed to



result from retaining the division of chapters and verses, in a new translation, they may all be obtained by simply marking them on the margin.

#### AFGHAN, OR PUSHTOO.

The Gospels of Matthew and Mark, in the Afghan language, translated by learned natives under the superintendence of John Leyden, M. D. Professor of Hindostanee in the college of Fort William, MS.

In 1810, Dr. Leyden, who had a number of learned natives, from various parts of the East, employed under him in preparing grammars and vocabularies of the languages of their respective countries, offered to procure, by their means, versions of the Four Gospels in the following languages, the Afghan, Siamese, Macassar, Bugis, Rakheng, Maldivian, and Jaghatai, most of which had never yet been cultivated by Europeans. As he died, however, soon after, the following only were executed, the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, part second, in Maldivian; Matthew and Mark in Afghan; Mark in Bulochée, Bugis, and Macassar. None of them were printed, as it was not deemed expedient to commit them to the press without being revised by an European scholar. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1811. App. p. 76; Ibid. 1812, p. 13; App. p. 75.

The New Testament in Afghan, translated by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. one of the Baptist missionaries, Serampore, and Professor of Sungskrit, Bengalee, and Mahratta, in the college of Fort William. Serampore, 1818.

The Old Testament in Afghan, translating by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 38. Miss. Herald, 1819, p. 42.

Afghanistan, where this language is spoken, is on the west side of the Indus, and forms the eastern part of modern Khorazan. The inhabitants call themselves Pushtoons; but by others they are termed Afghans. This is the people whom Sir William Jones, and others on his authority conjectured to be the descendants of the ten tribes whom Shalmanezzer carried captive. By the advocates of this opinion, the language of the Afghans is said to contain a greater number of Hebrew words, than that of any other nation in India. By others, their Jewish origin is represented as completely disproved by the radical dissimilarity of the two languages. The alphabet is the Arabic, with the addition of such letters as enable it to express the sounds of the Sungskrit. The Afghans are now enveloped in



all the darkness of Mahomedanism. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 305, 322. Edinburgh Review, vol. xxv. p. 424.

#### AMERICAN INDIAN. \*

The New Testament in the Indian language, by John Eliot, Cambridge, New England, 4to. 1661.

The Old Testament in the Indian language, by John Eliot, Cambridge, New England, 4to. 1664. Holmes' American Annals, vol. i. p. 318, 327.

The Book of Psalms, and the Gospel of John, in English and Indian, by Experience Mayhew, Boston, 1709. Mayhew's Indian Converts, p. 307.

The New Testament, in the Mohegan language, with many parts of the Old Testament, by John Sergeant, sen. Missionary at Stockbridge, MS. Hopkins' Memoirs of the Housatunnuk Indians, p. 156.

The Mohegan language, we are informed by Dr. Jonathan Edwards, who, by living at Stockbridge while his venerable father was missionary at that place, acquired it in his early years, is spoken by all the Indians throughout New England. Every tribe, indeed, has a different dialect, but the language is radically the same. Mr. Eliot's translation of the Bible was into a dialect of this language. The Mohegan, indeed, appears to be spoken much more extensively than any other language in North America. The languages of the Delawares in Pennsylvania, of the Penobscots on the borders of Nova Scotia, of the Indians of St. Francis in Canada, of the Shawanose on the Ohio, and of the Chippeways to the westward of Lake Huron, are all radically the same with the Mohegan. This is likewise said to be the case with the language of the Ottaways, the Nantikoks, the Munsys, the Menomonees, the Messisangas, the Saukies, the Ottagaumies, the Killistinoes, the Nipegons, the Algonkins, the Winnebagoes, &c. Edwards' Observations on the Language of the Muhhekaneew Indians, p. 5.

\* Le Long, in his *Bibliotheca Sacra*, tom. i. p. 448, mentions a translation under the following title: *Novum Testamentum lingua Indica*, 12 *Londini*, Mathæi Symmons, 1646. If an American Indian is here intended, we suspect that no such translation exists: at least we never heard of any previous to Mr. Eliot's, which was not printed till several years afterwards. He also mentions the following Polyglott MS. *Novum Testamentum Indica, Armenica et Vandalica seu Slavica lingua. Bibl. Monachensis sive Bavarica*, Ibid. tom. i. p. 8; but whether the Indian to which he here refers is one of the languages of North America, or of the East Indies, we do not know.

In our references to Le Long's *Bibliotheca Sacra* in this list of Translations, we have been obliged to quote two different editions of that work, as each of them contains information which the other wants, namely, the work as published by himself, and the improved edition by Masch.



The Moravian missionaries in North America translated various passages of the Holy Scriptures both into the Mohegan and Delaware languages; but whether they are still in existence we do not know; as in 1781, all the books and writings which they had compiled for the instruction of the Indian youth, are said to have been destroyed by the savages. Loskiel's History, Part II. p. 151, 182; Part III. p. 80, 161.

Harmony of the four Gospels in the Delaware language, by David Zeisberger, one of the Moravian missionaries, MS. Period. Accounts, vol. viii. p. 34.

The Gospel of Matthew in the Delaware language, translating by C. F. Denke, one of the Moravian missionaries among the Indians.

The Gospel of John in the Delaware language, by C. F. Denke.

The Epistles of John in the Delaware language, by C. F. Denke, New York, 1818. Report of the American Bible Society, 1818, p. 18. New York Christian Herald, vol. v. p. 352.

Mr. Kirkland, missionary among the Oneidas, also made considerable progress in translating the Scriptures into the language of the Indians, (Balfour's Sermon before the Society in Scotland, for Propagating Christian Knowledge, p. 61,) but no part of this version, so far as we know, was ever printed.

The Book of Genesis in the Mohawk language.

We give this translation on the authority of Mr. Bromley, the benevolent advocate of Indian civilization, who says he had it in his possession: (Bromley's second Address on the deplorable state of the Indians, 1814, p. 45.) By whom it was translated, or when it was printed, we do not know.

The Gospel of Matthew, with many chapters, both from the Old and New Testament, in the Mohawk language, by the Rev. Mr. Freeman, Schenectady.

This translation was made about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Some passages of it were printed at New York. Humphrey's Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts, p. 286, 302.

The Gospel of Matthew in the Mohawk language.

We give this edition on the authority of Mr. Bromley, who says he had a copy of it in his possession. Bromley's Address, p. 45. Whether it was Mr. Freeman's translation, or when it was printed, we do not know.

The Gospel of Mark in Mohawk and English, by Colonel Brandt, an Indian chief, 1787. Rep. Bib.



Soc., 1805, p. 17, 56; Holmes' Sermon before the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians in North America, p. 43.

The Gospel of John in the Mohawk language, by Captain Norton, an Indian Chief, London, 1804. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1805, p. 16; Ib. 1807, p. 41.

Captain Norton was a Chief of the Six Nations, a well known confederacy among the Indian tribes. He was a man of great natural acuteness, was acquainted with the English language from his infancy, and had been two years at his education in Scotland. The whole of the Six Nations, including the Caghnawagues and the Wyandots, who had been converted to the Church of Rome by the French missionaries, were computed to exceed 8000 souls. The Mohawk dialect is also understood by others of the Indian tribes. Owen's History of the Bible Society, vol. i. p. 126.

The Gospel of John translating into the Seneca language by Mr. Hyde, who was several years a teacher among the Seneca Indians, under the auspices of the New York Missionary Society. New York Christ. Herald, vol. v. p. 529.

#### ARABIC.

The Bible in Arabic, in the Paris Polyglott, 1645.

The Bible in Arabic, in the London Polyglott, 1657. Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra, tom. i. p. 122.

"The barbarous style," says the late Mr. Carlyle, professor of Arabic in the university of Cambridge, "the barbarous style in which some eastern versions of the New Testament are written, has been known to operate very materially against their reception; but the Arabic version of the Polyglott is distinguished for the purity of its language. It was composed, probably, by some of the most learned men of Syria and Egypt, certainly at a time when Arabic literature was at its zenith; and it was used at Alexandria and Cairo both by Jews and Christians;—by men perfectly acquainted with all the niceties of the language—as a faithful and elegant representation of their respective books of faith. It has obtained the same character amongst the most learned Orientalists in Europe. Erpenius calls it 'Versio elegans quidem et antiqua.' Gabriel Sionita designs it, 'Nobilissimum totius Testamenti exemplar.' This admirable scholar collated the Pentateuch, (which is the work of Saadiah of Fireme) with two MSS. in the Bodleian library, and has given the various readings in the Sixth Volume of the Polyglott. It is uncertain by whom the historical books were rendered into Arabic. Undoubtedly it was done by different persons, as some are translated from the original Hebrew; some from



the Greek of the Septuagint ; and some from the ancient Syriac version. It is probable that these last were the production of Asiatics, and the former of Egyptians." Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. i. p. 91.

By others, however, the version of the Polyglott is represented as inelegant and incorrect, (Owen, Hist. Bib. Soc. vol. i. p. 304.) so that it is impossible for one ignorant of the language to form an opinion amidst the conflicting sentiments of those acquainted with it.

The Bible in Arabic, without the vowel points, published by order of the Congregation *de Propaganda fide*, for the use of the Churches in the East, to which is added, the Vulgate translation. Rome, 1671, 3 vols. folio.

This version was originally made by Sergius Risius, Archbishop of the Maronites at Damascus, during the Popedom of Urban VIII. Before it was published, however, it was revised by order of the Propaganda, and it is said to have been modelled entirely after the Vulgate. When copies of the first volume were sent into the East, they could scarcely be understood, and the missionaries were accused of corrupting the word of God. This excited so much disturbance, that the work was suppressed by authority of the Pope for many years ; the whole, however, was afterwards printed, Bibliographical Dictionary, vol. i. p. 277. and it is now held in the highest estimation not only by the Catholics, but by the other sects of Christians in Asiatic Turkey. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1818. App. p. 126.

The Bible in Arabic, by the Patriarch of Antioch. Ducharest in Wallachia, folio, 1700. Le Long, tom. i. p. 125.

The Holy Scriptures in Arabic, edited by Raphael Tuki, bishop of Erzerum, under the patronage of the Congregation *de Propaganda fide*, vol. i. 1752—1753, 4to. Bib. Dict. vol. i. p. 277; Marsh's History of the Translations of the Holy Scriptures, p. 79.

The Bible in Arabic, from the text of the Polyglott, Newcastle, 1811.

This work was originally undertaken by professor Carlyle, but he died while engaged in preparing it for the press. It was afterwards, however, completed under the patronage of the bishop of Durham. Owen's Hist. Bib. Soc. vol. i. p. 300, 306.

The Pentateuch in Arabic, MS.

This MS. is in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Adam Clark. He represents it as a very ancient copy, and as translated with great simplicity and purity from the Hebrew, and as worth more



than its weight in gold. Letter from Dr. Clark, in the possession of the Scottish Missionary Society.

The Pentateuch in Arabic and Persic, MS.

A copy of this in folio was in the possession of an Armenian Christian, whom Mr. Thompson, one of the Baptist missionaries, visited at Patna. By a memorandum at the end of the volume, it appears to have been transcribed from an Ispahan copy, which was itself a transcript of a very ancient translation made from the Hebrew at Bagdad, A. D. 827, for Abdoola Mamoo Rusheed Badshaw, of Bagdad. Circular Letters relative to the Baptist Mission, vol. x. p. 203.

The Pentateuch, the Book of Psalms, and the Prophecy of Isaiah, in Arabic, MS.

It is a curious fact, that copies of these are to be found among the negroes in Africa. "I discovered," says Mr. Park, "that the negroes are in possession of an Arabic version of the Pentateuch of Moses, which is so highly esteemed, that it is often sold for the price of one prime slave. They have likewise a version of the Psalms of David, and lastly the Book of Isaiah, which is in very high esteem." Park's Travels, p. 467.\*

The Pentateuch, in Arabic, printed in Hebrew characters, from the version of Rabbi Saadiah, folio, Constantinople, 1546.

This was printed in a Polyglott edition of the Pentateuch, which was published at Constantinople in 1546; and, besides the Arabic, contained the five books of Moses, in Hebrew and Persic, with the Chaldee Paraphrase of Onkelos. Le Long, tom. i. p. 41, 125.

The Pentateuch in Arabic, edited by Thomas Erpenius, 4to. Leyden, 1622. Ibid. tom. i. p. 125.

The Psalms in Arabic, translated from the Greek. Genoa, 1516.

This appeared in a Polyglott edition of the Psalms, which was printed at Genoa in 1516; and besides the Arabic, contained the Hebrew, Greek, and Chaldee text, and three Latin versions. Ibid. tom. i. p. 42, 125.

The Psalms of David, with the Songs of the Old and New Testament, in Syriac and Arabic. Printed in the small Syriac character, on Mount Libanus, in the monastery of St. Anthony and St. John the Evangelist, by Joseph F. Amima, 1610. Ibid. tom. i. p. 103.

\* For a further list of MS. copies of the sacred writings in Arabic, see Le Long. Bibliotheca Sacra, tom. i. p. 111—122.



The Psalms of David, Arabic and Latin, from the version of Gabriel Sionita, 4to. Rome, 1614. Ibid. tom. i. p. 122, 125.

The Psalms of David in Coptic, Arabic, and Latin, edited by Thomas Petræus, 4to. Leyden, 1663. Ibid. tom. i. p. 43.

The Psalms of David in Arabic, printed at the expense of Athanasius, the Antiochan Patriarch of the Greeks, 4to. Aleppo, 1706. Ibid. tom. i. p. 125.

The Psalms of David, the Decalogue, and the Lord's Prayer, in Arabic, with parallel passages of Scripture from the Old and New Testament. London, 1725.

This work was published by the Society for promoting Christian knowledge; and the whole impression, consisting of upwards of six thousand copies, was sent abroad, so that a copy of it is now rarely to be seen. The Arabic text differs from that in the Paris and London Polyglotts. Solomon Negri, a native of Damascus, was brought from Halle, in Saxony, to London, to superintend the printing of it. Bib. Dict. vol. i. p. 277.

The Psalms of David in Arabic, 8vo. Aleppo, 1735.

The Psalms of David in Arabic, printed at the monastery of St. John the Baptist, on Mount Kesrvan, 8vo. 1735.

The Psalms of David in Arabic, by the monks of St. Basil, in the monastery of St. John the Baptist, on Mount Chaswan, 8vo. 1764. Le Long, edit. Maschii, tom. i. part ii. p. 124.

The Psalter, Coptic and Arabic, 4to. Rome, 1744.

The Alexandrian Psalter, Coptic and Arabic, 4to. Rome, 1749.

Both these Psalters were published by the Congregation *de Propaganda fide*, with the view of being sent to Egypt. Le Long, edit. Maschii, tom. i. part ii. p. 186.

Arabic Psalter, Indian paper, small folio, MS. In the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1822, p. 135.

The Song of Songs, in Ethiopic, Arabic, and Latin, with Notes by John George Nisselius. Leyden, 1656. Le Long, tom. i. p. 44.

The Book of Obadiah, in Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and Latin. Bremen, 1673, Le Long, edit. Maschii, tom. i. part i. p. 399.

The New Testament in Arabic, edited by Thomas Er-



penius, from the Scaliger MS. Leyden, 1616. Ibid. tom. i. p. 125.

The New Testament, in Syriac and Arabic, folio. Rome, 1703. Printed by the Congregation *de Propaganda fide*. Le Long, edit. Maschii, tom. i. part. ii. p. 92.

The New Testament in Arabic, London, 1727, quarto.

This edition, consisting of ten thousand copies, was printed at the expense of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, under the superintendence of Solomon Negri; and copies of it were sent, from time to time, for distribution in the East, particularly to the Danish missionaries in India. Bib. Dict. vol. vi. p. 204.

The New Testament in Arabic, translated by Nathaniel Sabat. Calcutta, 1816.

The first draft of this translation, was made by Sabat, under the inspection of the Rev. Henry Martyn; and after the death of that admirable man, the revision of it was undertaken by the Rev. Mr. Thomason, of Calcutta. Asiatic Journal, vol. ii. p. 13. vol. iii. p. 250. After finishing the New Testament, Sabat began a translation of the Old, and completed at least the Pentateuch, and a great part of the Psalms. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1813. App. p. 86.

The Gospels in Coptic and Arabic, Egyptian paper, MS. In the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1822, p. 135.

The Four Gospels in Arabic, without Points, beautifully printed, and adorned with wood cuts, folio. Rome, 1591. Bib. Dict. vol. vi. p. 205.

The Four Gospels in Arabic, printed at the expense of Athanasius, the Antiochan Patriarch of the Greeks, folio. Aleppo, 1706. Le Long, tom. i. p. 126.

The Epistle to the Galatians in Arabic, from a MS. in the Heidelberg Library, quarto. Heidelberg, 1583.

The Epistle to Titus in Arabic, MS. written by Joseph Jon Abu Dahan, an Egyptian of the sect of the Jacobites, in the city of Oxford, in the month Swan, 1611, quarto. In the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1817, App. p. 328.

The Epistle to Titus in Arabic, with an interlinear Latin version, by John Antonidas, quarto, 1612. Le Long, tom. i. p. 126.

The Epistles of James, John, and Jude, in Arabic and Ethiopic, with a Latin translation of both ver-



sions, and notes, by John George Nisselius, and Theodorus Petræus, quarto. Leyden, 1654.

The Epistle of James in Arabic, with the Latin translation of Nisselius, and a Glossary of the roots, by Nicolas Panecius, quarto. Witteberg, 1694.

The Epistles of John in Arabic, printed from an ancient MS. with a Latin translation, by William Bedwell, 1612.

The Epistles of John in Arabic and Latin, by Jonas Hambræus, 16mo. Paris, 1630.

The Epistle of Jude, edited from a Heidelberg MS. by Peter Kirsten, folio. Breslaw, 1611.

The Apocalypse of John in Arabic. A printed copy among the codices in the Bodleian Library. Cod. 3485. Le Long, edit. Maschii, tom. i. part ii. p. 135.

#### ARAWACK.

Harmony of the Four Gospels in Arawack, by ——— Schumann, one of the Moravian Missionaries, at Hope, on the river Corentyn, in South America, MS.

The New Testament in Arawack, with the exception of the book of Revelation, by ——— Schumann. MS. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1823, p. 131.

History of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, in Arawack. Philadelphia, 1799. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1822, p. 140.

#### ASSAMESE.

The New Testament in the Assamese language, translated by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Serampore, 1819. Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1819. p. 38.

The Old Testament in the Assamese language, translating by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 622.

#### BENGALEE.

The New Testament in Bengalee, by William Carey, D. D.

The first edition of this work was printed at Serampore in 1801: since that time it has proceeded to a sixth edition, and has been greatly improved. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. ii. Seventh Memoir of Translations, p. 2.

The Old Testament in Bengalee, by William Carey, D. D. in four volumes, octavo.

The first volume of this work, containing the Pentateuch,



was published in 1802; the second, containing the Hagiographia, in 1803; the third, containing the Prophetical books, in 1807; and the last containing the Historical books, in 1809. Memoir addressed to the Baptist Missionary Society, relative to the Translation of the Sacred Scriptures, 1808. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 58.

The book of Genesis, the Psalms, the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, the Epistle of James, and select portions from the Prophecies, in Bengalee. By John Thomas, one of the Baptist Missionaries in India. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. i.

The New Testament in Bengalee by Mr. J. Ellerton of Malda. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1818, App. p. 24. Ibid. 1819, App. p. 214. \*

#### BHUGELKHUND.

The New Testament in Bhugelkhund, translated by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Serampore, 1821. Period Accounts of Serampore Mission, p. 39.

#### BHUTNERE.

The New Testament translated into Bhutnere, by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Period Accounts of Serampore Mission, p. 39.

#### BIKANEER.

The New Testament in Bikaner, translated by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Serampore 18—. Seventh Memoir of the Translations, p. 7.

#### BRAZILIAN.

The Old and New Testament in the Brazilian language, translated by an English minister. Le Long, tom. i. p. 448.

#### BRUJ BHASA.

The New Testament in Bruj Bhasa, by John Chamber-

\* Antonio, a Roman Catholic missionary at Boglepoor, on the Ganges, translated the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, into the language of that district. Marsh's History, p. 108. Boglepoor is in the province of Bengal, but whether the language here alluded to is the Bengalee, we do not know. We rather suspect it is the Hindostanee, as a translation of the New Testament and part of the Old was made into that dialect by a Catholic missionary of the name of Anthony, at Bettiah, which is at no great distance from Boglepoor.



laine, one of the Baptist Missionaries. Miss. Herald, 1819, p. 42.

The Old Testament translated (in part) into Bruj Bhasa, by John Chamberlaine. Miss. Herald, 1819, p. 22. Ibid. 1820, p. 30.

This is a dialect of Hindostanee, and contains a greater number of Sungskrit words than most of the other varieties of that language. It is spoken in the upper provinces of Hindostan, from Agra to Sirdhana, beyond Delhi. The completion of the work was prevented by the death of the excellent translator. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 301, 619.

#### BUGIS.

The Gospel of Mark in Bugis, translated under the superintendence of John Leyden, M. D. MS. See AFGHAN.

The Bugis and Macassar are the languages of two of the most noble and enterprising nations of the East, though they are far from being equally numerous. They are the original languages of the island of Celebes; but are spoken in the Bugis and Macassar settlements in Borneo and several other islands, which are generally comprehended under the name of the Malay Archipelago. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1811, App. p. 77.

#### BULLOM.

The New Testament in Bullom, translating by the Rev. G. R. Nylander, missionary, Sierra Leone.

The Four Gospels, and the three Epistles of John, are translated: Matthew is printed with the English text in parallel columns. Miss. Reg. vol. iv. p. 194; vol. v. p. 389.

The Book of Genesis in Bullom, translated by George Caulker, a native chief at the Plantain Islands.

The New Testament and the Book of Psalms, translating into Bullom, by George Caulker. Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. ix. p. 93.

#### BULOCHEE.

The Gospel of Mark in Bulochée, translated under the superintendence of John Leyden, M. D. See AFGHAN.

The New Testament in Bulochée, translating by learned natives under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. vi. Supp. to No. 31. p. 3.

#### BURMAN.

The Collects, Gospels, and Epistles, according to the



Ritual of the Church of Rome, in Burman. Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 372.

"The Portuguese missionaries," says Mr. Judson, "have left a version of some Extracts of Scripture, not badly executed in respect of language, but full of Romish errors." Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. vi. p. 226. This is perhaps the work to which he refers.

#### Scripture Extracts, in Burman.

The Baptist missionaries at Serampore printed two small works in Burman, consisting of Scripture extracts. The largest of these contains an account of the creation of the world, and the fall of man, the prophecies concerning Christ, the life and death of our Saviour, the last judgment, &c. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 257.

#### The Gospel of Matthew in Burman, MS.

This Mr. Judson supposes must have been the work of some Roman Catholic missionary. He accidentally met with a copy of it written on palm leaves. Bapt. Mag. vol. x. p. 75.

The Gospel of Matthew in Burman, by James Chater, one of the Baptist missionaries. Serampore, 1815.

This is a very imperfect translation: it is quite unintelligible to the Burmans. Bapt. Mag. vol. x. p. 75. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. vi. Supp. to No. 31. p. 24.

The Gospel of Mark, and at least part of Luke and John, in Burman, by Felix Carey, one of the Baptist missionaries in Burmah. Circular Letters, vol. v. p. 4. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 118, 260. vol. vi. p. 62.

The New Testament, translating into Burman, by Adoniram Judson, missionary, Burmah. Latter Day Luminary, vol. i. p. 29. Judson's Account of the Amer. Miss. in Burmah, p. 268, 310, 317.

#### CALMUCK.

A great part of the Gospels in Calmuck, by J. Maltsch, one of the United Brethren at Sarepta; but as his acquaintance with the language was imperfect, the work is probably of no great value. Morav. Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 192, 193.

Some parts of the Gospels, &c. in Calmuck, chiefly by Conrad Neitz, another of the Brethren. These are represented as very correct. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1808, p. 29.

The Four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles in



Calmuck, by Isaac Jacob Schmidt. St. Petersburg, 182-. Scot. Miss. Reg. vol. iii. p. 262.

The First Epistle of John in Calmuck, by the Rev. Cornelius Rhamn, missionary, Sarepta. Rep. Miss. Soc. 1822, p. 102.

#### CASHMIRE.

The New Testament, in the Cashmire language, translated by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Serampore, 1821.

The Old Testament, translating into the Cashmire language, by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Period. Accounts of the Serampore Mission, p. 39.

#### CHINESE.

The Five Books of Moses in Chinese.

We give this translation on the authority of Le Compte, who says that the copies are very ancient, Le Compte's Memoirs of China, Letter viii. Christianity, according to the Syrian writers, and the Indian traditions, was originally planted in China, by the Apostle Thomas: There is at any rate little doubt, that Christian missionaries arrived in China about the year 636, and had considerable success in spreading the Gospel through that vast empire. Yeates' Indian Church History, p. 72, 86.

Sentences from the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers, for each day of the year, in Chinese, by James Rho.

The Psalter in Chinese, as part of the Romish Breviary, translated by Louis Buglio.

The Gospels and Epistles for the whole year, in Chinese, forming part of the Romish Missal, translated by Louis Buglio.

The Dominical Gospels for the whole year, in Chinese, by Emmanuel Dias, with his Commentaries, 14 volumes. Le Long, tom. i. p. 145.

The Four Gospels in Chinese with notes, by a Roman Catholic missionary living at Peking in 1816. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1817, App. p. 15.

Harmony of the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of Paul, and the first chapter of the Hebrews, in Chinese, MS.

We are acquainted with three copies of this valuable manuscript. One is in the British Museum in folio, lettered by mistake *Evangelica Quatuor Sinice*. On a blank leaf at the beginning of the volume, is the following note: "This transcript



was made at Canton, in 1737 and 1738, by order of Mr. Hodgson, who says it has been collated with care, and found very correct. Given by him to Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. in 1739." A second is in the library of Greenwich Observatory, which, in respect of beauty of paper and writing, is much inferior to the copy in the British Museum, but it has the points used in China, which the other wants. A third was transcribed by Yong Saam Tak, a native of China, and was carried by Dr. Morrison to that country, with the view of assisting him in translating the Holy Scriptures into the Chinese language. Mosely's Memoir on Translating the Scriptures into Chinese, 2d Edit. p. 20. Evan. Mag. vol. ix. p. 445.

This, according to Sir George Staunton, is one of the most accurate and elegant translations he ever met with, from any European language into Chinese. From the style he supposed that it was made from the Vulgate, under the direction of the Jesuits. Owen's Hist. Bib. Soc. vol. i. p. 92. Dr. Morrison also bears testimony to the high value of this translation; and one of his assistants informed him, that it must have been the work of a native Chinese, as the style was better than he supposed any foreigner could have written. Rep. Miss. Soc. 1810, p. 22. Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 340.

The New Testament in Chinese, by Robert Morrison, D. D. Canton, 1814.

In this edition of the New Testament, the Gospels, the closing Epistles, and the book of Revelation, were translated by Dr. Morrison. The Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of Paul, were taken from the preceding MS. which he carried out with him. He corrected it, however, in such places as he thought necessary. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1815, App. p. 27. Ibid. 1817, App. p. 16.

The Old Testament in Chinese, by Robert Morrison, D. D. Macao, and William Mylne, D. D. Malacca. Quart. Chron. vol. ii. p. 65.

The New Testament in Chinese, by John Lassar, from Macao, and Joshua Marshman, D. D. one of the Baptist missionaries at Serampore. Serampore, 1819.

The Old Testament in Chinese, by John Lassar, and Joshua Marshman, D. D. Serampore, 1822. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. vi. p. 326. Period. Accounts of Serampore Mission, p. 38.

On this work the translators appear to have employed extraordinary pains. Of their plan of operation in translating the New Testament, a detailed account may be found in Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 39, 410.



## CINGALESE.

The Four Gospels in Cingalese, Columbo, 1739, quarto.

The Psalms of David in Cingalese. Columbo, 1755, octavo.

The Psalms of David, with musical notes, and the Cingalese text interlined, Columbo, 1768.

The New Testament in Cingalese, by Fybrants and Philipsz. Columbo, 1788.

The Books of Genesis, Exodus, and part of Leviticus, in Cingalese, by Fybrants and Philipsz. Columbo, 1783. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1810, App. p. 86; Ibid. 1822. App. p. 115.

The Old Testament to the book of Job, in Cingalese, by a native clergyman of the name of Philips, MS.

This is probably a continuation of the preceding work. The manuscript is deposited among the archives of the Dutch church at Columbo; but on examination it was found to be deficient in many places. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1813, p. 18.

The New Testament in Cingalese, translated by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Tolfrey, Esq. Columbo, 1817.

This version was made by the native translators from the English Bible, but was afterwards carefully examined and corrected, by Mr. Tolfrey, who possessed an extensive acquaintance with the Cingalese language, and besides the original Greek, made use of the English, Tamul, and Sungskrit translations. Mr. Tolfrey died when he had proceeded in the revision of it, to the Second Epistle to Timothy, but it was afterwards completed, under the superintendence of Mr. Chater, one of the Baptist missionaries, Mr. Clough, one of the Wesleyan missionaries, and Mr. Armour, a preacher to the natives, appointed by government. This translation, however, was so full of Sungskrit, and other words, not in ordinary use, that it was far from being intelligible to common readers. Panoplist, vol. xi. p. 187. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1815, App. p. 23; Ibid. 1816, App. p. 228; Ibid. 1818, App. p. 19, 232; Ibid. 1819, App. p. 219. Miss. Not. vol. i. p. 168. Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. x. p. 175, 179.

The Old Testament in Cingalese, translating by learned natives, under the superintendence of James Chater, Benjamin Clough, and A. Armour. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1818. App. p. 232.

The Book of Psalms, translated (at least in part,) into Cingalese, by William Tolfrey, Esq. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1818. App. p. 18.



The New Testament in Cingalese, translating by James Chater, Columbo. Miss. Reg. vol. vii. p. 40.

#### CREOLE.

The New Testament in Creole. Copenhagen, 1781.

Rep. Bib. Soc. 1811, App. p. 131.

Parts of the Bible in Creole, by the Rev. Mr. Volker-son, MS. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1818. App. p. 244.

Harmony of the Four Gospels in Creole, by John Bohner, one of the Moravian missionaries. Printed. Holmes' Historical Sketches, p. 296. Rizler Erzählungen, aus der Geschichte der Bruder Kirche, tom. iii. p. 76.

Besides the Harmony of the Gospels, Bohner translated into Creole, some other passages of Scripture. All these versions, we suppose were into the Creole dialect of the Danish West India Islands, St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. Jan, which is a corruption of the Dutch and Low German, with a mixture of French, English, Spanish, and Danish words. The Creole dialect of other islands is different, according to the nation to which they belong. Oldendorp Geschichte der Mission auf St. Thomas, St. Croix, St. Jan, tom. i. p. 424.

Harmony of the Four Gospels in Negro English, by the Moravian missionaries. Holmes' Sketches, p. 296.

#### DOGURA.

The New Testament in Dogura, translating by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 39.

#### ESQUIMAUX.

Harmony of the Four Gospels, in Esquimaux, by the Moravian missionaries in Labrador. Printed. Morav. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 23.

The New Testament in the Esquimaux language, by the Moravian missionaries in Labrador. Morav. Period. Accounts, vol. vii. p. xxiii. 8.

#### FORMOSAN.

The Gospels of Matthew and John in the Formosan language, with a Dutch version, by Daniel Gravius. Amsterdam, 1661, quarto. Le Long, tom. i. p. 145.

#### GOANDEE.

The Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and part of Luke, in Goandee, translated by two natives.



This is the language of the Goands, the ancient inhabitants of the Mahratta country, who have retired from the open country, and now live in the hills and jungles. This translation was procured by Lieutenant Moxon, an officer at Nagpore, who was connected with the Baptist missionaries. *Bapt. Period. Accounts*, vol. iv. p. 464, 593 ; vol. vi. p. 41, 43.

#### GREENLAND.

The Books of Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus, in the Greenland language, by Paul Egede, one of the Danish missionaries in Greenland. *P. Egede, Nachrichten von Gronland*, p. 146, 166, 180, 196.

The Pentateuch in the Greenland language, by Bishop Fabricius, and the Rev. Mr. Wolff, chaplain of the citadel of Copenhagen, both of whom had been missionaries in Greenland. *Rep. Bib. Soc.* 1823, p. 45.

Some passages of the Old Testament in the Greenland language, by John Beck, MS. *Fortsetzung, Brud. Hist.* tom. i. p. 328. Other parts of the Old Testament were translated, by Jasper Broderson, another of the missionaries. *Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 47.

The New Testament in the Greenland language, by Paul Egede.

The New Testament in the Greenland language, by Otto Fabricius, one of the Danish missionaries. *Copenhagen*, 1799.

Both these translations were printed, but they are so imperfect, that they are not understood by the people. MS. *Accounts* in the author's possession. By another account, they were not distinct versions: Fabricius merely published a new, and much improved edition of Egede's translation. *Edin. Encyclop.* vol. x. p. 502.

Harmony of the Four Gospels in the Greenland language, by the Moravian missionaries, *Morav. Period. Accounts*, vol. vii. p. 23.

The New Testament in the Greenland language, by John Beck, one of the Moravian missionaries, MS.

The New Testament in the Greenland language, by John C. Kleinschmidt, one of the Moravian missionaries. *London*, 1822. *Morav. Period. Accounts*, vol. vii. p. 25 ; vol. viii. p. 81. *Rep. Bib. Soc.* 1822, App. p. 125.

#### GUDWAL.

The New Testament translating into Gudwal, by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. *Seventh Memoir of Translations*, p. 8.



## GUZERATTEE.

The New Testament in Guzerattee, translated by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Serampore, 1820. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1822, App. p. 127.

The New Testament in Guzerattee, translated by James Skinner, and William Fyvie, missionaries, Surat, 1821. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1821, p. lxii.

The Old Testament in Guzerattee, translating by James Skinner, and William Fyvie. Miss. Reg. vol. vii. p. 38.

The Gospel of Matthew in Guzerattee, translated under the superintendence of John Taylor, M. D. Bombay. Miss. Reg. vol. iv. p. 448. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1818. App. p. 228.

## HINDOSTANEE.

The four first chapters of Genesis in Hindostanee, by Benjamin Schultze, one of the Danish missionaries in India, Halle, 1745, octavo.

The Psalms of David in Hindostanee, by Benjamin Schultze, Halle, 1747, octavo.

The Book of Daniel in Hindostanee, by Benjamin Schultze, Halle, 1749, octavo.

The New Testament in Hindostanee, by Benjamin Schultze, Halle, 1758, octavo.

This work was completed in 1758; but most of the books were published separately some years before. Le Long, edit. Maschii, tom. i. part ii. p. 207.

The New Testament in Hindostanee, by Father Anthony, a Roman Catholic missionary in Hindostan, MS.

This translation Father Anthony made, with the assistance of a learned Christian native, for the use of his congregation at Bettiah, in the province of Bahar.

The Old Testament in Hindostanee, translating by Father Anthony.

The Psalms of David in Hindostanee, by a Roman Catholic missionary. Circular Letters, vol. x. p. 50, 203, 204.

The Four Gospels in Hindostanee, translated by learned natives, revised and collated with the original Greek, by William Hunter, Esq. Calcutta, 1804. Primitiæ Orientales, vol. iii. p. xxxi.



The New Testament in Hindostanee, by William Carey, D. D. assisted by learned natives. Serampore, 1811. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 384.

The Old Testament in Hindostanee, by William Carey, D. D. assisted by learned natives. Serampore, 1818. Ibid. vol. vi. p. 322.

The New Testament in Hindostanee, translated by Mahommed Ali, commonly called Mirza Fitrut, a learned native, under the superintendence of the Rev. Henry Martyn. Serampore, 1814. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1812, p. 13. App. p. 75; Ibid. 1815. App. p. 145.

The Old Testament in Hindostanee, translated by Mirza Fitrut.

Of this translation, the Book of Genesis was revised by Mr. Martyn, and printed in London. The Rev. Messrs. Thomason and Corrie, assisted by learned natives, revised the rest of the version, previous to its being printed at Calcutta. Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. v. p. 476; vol. ix. p. 220. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1820, p. 71.

The New Testament in Hindostanee, translating by Meer Hasan Aly, assistant to the Oriental Professor, at the East India Company's Military Seminary, Croydon. Asiatic Journal, vol. i. p. 178.

These versions were into the Hindostanee, as spoken in the western provinces of India. How far Mr. Chamberlaine had proceeded with his translation, previous to his death, we do not know. Miss. Herald, 1819, p. 22. Seventh Memoir of Translations, p. 4.

The New Testament in *Hinduwee*, altered from Martyn's Hindostanee translation, by the Rev. W. Bowley, one of the missionaries of the Church Society, Chunar. Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. ix. p. 111, 127.

The New Testament in *Hinduwee*, translated (in part,) by John Chamberlaine, one of the Baptist missionaries.

The Hindostanee language has admitted, perhaps, a greater number of foreign words into it, than any other of the dialects of India. This mixture is so great, as to render at least two different translations absolutely necessary; one which draws principally on the Persian and Arabic languages for a supply of words; another which has recourse in the same manner to the Sungskrit. Mr. Hunter's Translation of the Four Gospels, was into the former of these dialects, and was in many places perfectly unintelligible to Sungskrit pundits. Mr. Martyn's translation was also into that dialect, and was adapted only for Mussulmen, who understood something of Persic. That



by Dr. Carey was into the latter, and is probably as little understood by Mahomedan monshees. Memoir relative to the Translations of the Scriptures, 1808, p. 10. Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. ix. p. 127.

#### HUNAJ.

The New Testament in Hunaj, translating by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Miss. Herald, 1819, p. 42.

#### HURIANA.

The New Testament in Huriana, translating by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Miss. Herald, 1819, p. 42.

#### HUROTEE.

The New Testament in Hurotee, translated by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Serampore, 1821. Period. Accounts of Serampore Mission, p. 39.

#### JAVANESE.

The New Testament in Javanese, translated by G. Bruckner, one of the Baptist missionaries in Java. Miss. Herald, 1822, p. 86.

The Gospel of Mark, and sixteen chapters of the Acts of the Apostles in Javanese, by J. Phillips, one of the Baptist missionaries, Java. Miss. Herald, 1819, p. 91.

#### JUMBOO.

The New Testament in Jumboo, translating by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Miss. Herald, 1819, p. 42.

#### JUYPORE.

The New Testament in Juypore, translating by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 39.

This language is spoken in the small territory of Juypore, which lies west of Agra, towards Guzzerat. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 619.

#### KANOJE.

The New Testament translated into Kanoje, by learned natives under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Serampore, 1821. Period. Accounts of Serampore Mission, p. 39.

#### KHASSEE.

The New Testament in Khassee, translating by learned



natives under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 39.

This language is spoken by an independent tribe, who inhabit the mountains extending from the eastern boundaries of Bengal to near the borders of China. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 400; vol. vi. Supp. to No. 31. p. 15.

#### KHOSUL.

The New Testament in Khosul, translating by learned natives under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D.

This language is spoken in the country to the north-east of Oude. Bapt. Period. Accounts, Supp. to No. 31, p. 12. Seventh Memoir of Translations, p. 8.

#### KUMAOON.

The New Testament translating into Kumaon, by learned natives under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Period Accounts of Serampore Mission, p. 39.

#### KUNKUNA.

The New Testament in Kunkuna, translated by learned natives under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Serampore, 1818.

The Old Testament in Kunkuna, translating by learned natives under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D.

This language is spoken on the western coast of India, from Bombay to Goa. Besides the New Testament, the Pentateuch is printed; but the Baptist missionaries have relinquished their intention of printing the rest of the Old Testament, as this work falls more naturally under the care of the Bombay Bible Society. Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 43. Seventh Memoir respecting Translations, p. 6. Period. Accounts of the Serampore Mission, p. 38.

#### KURNATA.

The New Testament in Kurnata, translated by learned natives under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D.

The Old Testament in Kurnata, translating by learned natives under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 621. Period. Accounts of Serampore Mission, p. 39.

The New Testament in Kurnata, by John Hands and William Reeve, missionaries, Bellary.



The Old Testament in Kurnata, by John Handsa nd William Reeve. Miss. Trans. vol. v. p. 383. Evan. Mag. vol. xxviii. p. 123.

#### LAPPONESE.

The Lapponee Manuel, containing the Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, the Lessons from the Gospels and Epistles, with the history of the passion of Christ, &c. by John Tor-næus. Stockholm, 1648.

Lessons from the Gospels and Epistles, the history of Christ's passion, &c. in Lapponee, by Olaus Stephan Graan. Stockholm, 1669. Scheffer's History of Lap-land, p. 69.

The New Testament in Lapponee. Stockholm, 1755.

The Bible in Lapponee. Hernosand, 1811. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1822, p. 129.

#### MACASSAR.

The Gospel of Mark in Macassar, translated under the superintendence of John Leyden, M. D. MS. See AFGHAN and BUGIS.

#### MAHRATTA.

The New Testament in Mahratta, translated by learned natives under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Serampore, 1811. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 384.

The Old Testament in Mahratta, translated by learned natives under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Serampore, 181-. Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 38.

The New Testament in Mahratta, translated by the American missionaries, Bombay, assisted by a learned Brahmin.

The Old Testament in Mahratta, translating by the American missionaries, Bombay. Rep. Board For. Miss. 1820, p. 15; Ibid. 1821.

The Gospel of Matthew in Mahratta, translated under the superintendence of John Taylor, M. D. Bombay. Miss. Reg. vol. iv. p. 448. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1818, App. p. 228.

#### MALAY.

The Gospels of Matthew and Mark in Malay, in Arabic characters, with the Dutch version, by Albert Cornelius Ruyl, quarto. Enchusa, 1629.



The Gospels of Matthew and Mark in Malay, by John Van Hasel.

The Gospels of Luke and John in Malay, with the Dutch Version, by John Van Hasel, quarto. Amsterdam, 1646.

The four Gospels in Malay, according to the Dutch translation of the year 1637, and the Acts of the Apostles, by Justus Heurn, with the Dutch version, 4to. Amsterdam, 1651.

This is a corrected edition of the translations of the Gospels by Ruyl and Hasel, with the addition of Heurn's own version of the Acts of the Apostles.

The New Testament in Malay, by Daniel Brower, printed by the command, and at the expense, of the East India Company. Amsterdam, 1668.

The four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles in Malay, quarto. Oxford, 1677.

This was taken from Heurn's edition, and printed at the expense of the Honourable Mr. Boyle. It was in the Roman character, which had been introduced by the Dutch into their possessions in the East.

The Book of Genesis in Malay, by Daniel Brower, with the Dutch version, according to the translation of the year 1637, quarto. Amsterdam, 1662.

The Psalter in Malay and Dutch, by John Van Hasel and Justus Heurn, quarto. Amsterdam, 1689.

The Old and New Testament in Malay, by Melchior Leidekker and Peter Vander Vorm. Published by order of the Dutch East India Company, quarto. Amsterdam, 1733.

This version was chiefly the work of Dr. Melchior Leidekker, the whole of the Old Testament having been translated by him, together with the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, and Ephesians. The other Epistles were completed by Dr. Peter Vander Vorm; and the whole was afterwards revised by him and several other of the Dutch ministers in the East. From the high qualifications of the individuals employed on this work, and from the great pains they appear to have employed both in the original translation and in the revision of it, we have reason to conclude that it is an excellent version. The New Testament was published separately in 1731, and the whole Bible two years afterward. Both of them were in the Roman character. Of the manner in which the translation was executed, a very interesting and particular account may be found in Rep. Bib. Soc. 1815, App. p. 50. But though this version is on the whole



highly respectable, it abounds with Arabic words ; and it is in what is called High Malay, in consequence of which it is not so easily understood by ordinary readers. Milne's Retrospect of the Mission to China, p. 169.

The Psalter in Malay, with musical notes, quarto. Amsterdam, 1735.

The Old and New Testament in Malay, in five volumes, octavo. Batavia, 1758.

This was the version of 1733, in Arabic characters, with the addition of the peculiar Malay letters. It was published by the direction of Jacob Mossel, governor-general of the Dutch possessions in the East ; and was superintended by John Mauritz Mohr and Herman Peter Van de Werk. Le Long, edit. Masch. tom. i. part ii. p. 193. Asiatic Researches, vol. x. p. 188. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1815, App. p. 47.

The Gospels in Malay, by Thomas Jarret, Esq. Marsh's History, p. 39.

The preceding version by the Dutch, we are informed by Dr. Buchanan, is in the Eastern Malay, which is materially different from the Western or that of Sumatra. Soon after the institution of the College of Fort William, Mr. Jarret was employed in preparing a version of the Holy Scriptures into the Western Malay, an undertaking for which he was well qualified, having resided twelve years in Sumatra. When the college was reduced, he continued to prosecute the work at Madras, and he had as an assistant a learned Malay of high rank, who came from Sumatra for the purpose. But to what extent he carried the work we do not know. Buchanan's Researches, p. 91. Buchanan's Apology for Promoting Christianity in India, p. 71.

The Gospel of Matthew in Malay, printed in the Roman character. By Jabez Carey. Miss. Herald, 1819, p. 42.

Whether this is a new translation by Mr. Carey, we are uncertain.

The Gospel of Matthew in Malay, by the Rev. Mr. Thomsen, Malacca. Milne's Retrospect, p. 272.

The Gospel of Matthew in Malay, by Mr. Kool, translator to the government of Batavia.

The Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in Malay, translating by William Robinson, one of the Baptist missionaries in Java.

Both these versions were into the colloquial or Low Malay, which is spoken in Batavia and the neighbourhood, where the common translation is perfectly unintelligible. It is into the High Malay, which is spoken in the upper parts of the island.



Between these two dialects there is a greater difference than between the High and the Low German, or even than between the German and the Dutch. Both these versions were undertaken by desire of the Java Bible Society; but Mr. Kool's was on examination rejected by them, as too high in its language. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. vi. p. 68. Reports Baptist Board for Foreign Missions, p. 172. Bapt. Mag. vol. viii. p. 82. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1815, App. p. 117; Ibid. 1817, App. p. 8; Ibid. 1818, App. p. 237.

## MALDIVIAN.

The Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, Part II. in Maldivian, translated under the superintendence of John Leyden, M. D. MS. See AFGHAN.

The Maldivian language is spoken in the large Archipelago of the Maldive islands, to the south-west of Ceylon. The nation which inhabits them is numerous and enterprising; the rulers are generally Moslems, the subjects Pagans. The character is original, but the language has a distant relation to the Cingalese. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1811, App. p. 77.

## MANDJUR CHINESE.

The first eighteen chapters of Genesis (at least) in the Mandjur Chinese language, by the Jesuit missionaries in China. Quart. Chron. vol. ii. p. 318.

The New Testament translating into the Mandjur Chinese. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1823, p. 51. App. p. 90.

## MARWAR.

The New Testament in Marwar, translated by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Serampore, 1821. Period. Accounts of Serampore Mission, p. 39.

## MEXICAN.

The Proverbs of Solomon, and many other Fragments of Holy Writ, in the Mexican language, by Louis Rodrigues.

The Epistles and Gospels in the Mexican language, by one of the order of St. Mary, who died 1579. Le Long, tom. i. p. 448.

## MIXTECAN.

The Epistles and Gospels in Mixtecan, the vulgar language of New Spain, by Benedict Ferdinand, who flourished about 1568.



The Epistles and Gospels in the idiom which is spoken by the Western Indians, translated by Arnold a Boscaccio. Le Long, tom. i. p. 448.

#### MONGOLIAN.

The Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in the Mongolian language. St. Petersburg, 182—.

This version is into the Burat dialect of the Mongolian language. The authors of it translated from the Calmuck version of Schmidt. Morav. Period. Accounts, vol. vi. p. 472; vol. vii. p. 41. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1820, App. p. 54. Scottish Miss. Reg. vol. iii. p. 282.

The first eighteen chapters of Genesis, translated into the Mongolian language from the Mandjur translation of the Jesuit missionaries in China.

The Book of Genesis, translating into the Mongolian language by the Rev. Messrs. Stallybrass and Swan, missionaries, Irkoutsk. Quart. Chron. vol. ii. p. 316, 318.

In making this translation, Messrs. Stalybrass and Swan had the preceding version before them.

#### MOOLTANEE, OR WUCH.

The New Testament in Mooltanee, translated by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Serampore, 1819. Miss. Her. 1820, p. 6.

#### MORDWASHIAN.

The New Testament translating into the Mordwashian language. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1821, p. xlix.

#### MUGUD.

The New Testament translating into Mugud by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D.

This is the language of South Bahar, which begins where the Mahratta ends, and extends nearly to the banks of the Ganges. Period. Accounts of Serampore Mission, p. 39. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. vi. Supp. to No. 31. p. 12.

#### MUNIPOORA.

The New Testament in Munipoora, translating by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D.

#### NEPALESE.

The New Testament in Nepalese, translated by learned



natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Serampore, 1821. Period. Accounts of Serampore Mission, p. 39.

#### OODUYPORE.

The New Testament in Ooduyypore, translating by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 38.

This language is spoken in the district of Ooduyypore, which lies south-west of Agra, towards Bombay. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 620.

#### OOJEIN, OR MALWA.

The New Testament in Oojein, translating by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Miss. Herald, 1819, p. 42.

#### OSSATINIAN.

The Four Gospels in the Ossatinian language. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1823, App. p. 90.

#### ORISSA.

The New Testament in Orissa, translated by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Serampore, 1809. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 58.

The Old Testament in Orissa, translated by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Serampore, 1815. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. vi. Supp. to No. 31. p. 2.

#### OSTIAK.

The Gospel of Matthew in the Ostiak language.

The Ostiaks are one of the most numerous tribes in Siberia. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1821, p. 42.

#### OTAHEITAN.

The Old and New Testament translating into the Otaheitan language by the missionaries in the South Sea Islands. Rep. Miss. Soc. 1821, p. 18; Ibid. 1822, p. 35. Quart. Chron. vol. ii. p. 247.

#### PALI, OR MAGUDHA.

The New Testament translated (in part) into Pali, by Don Abraham de Thomas, under the superintendence of William Tolfrey, Esq.



The Pali, or Magudha, is the sacred language of Ceylon and of the Burman empire, and is a dialect of the Sungskrit. Don Abraham de Thomas, the translator, was a man of learning, and a Buddhist priest, but had embraced Christianity. The translation was made from Dr. Carey's Sungskrit version, and was carefully corrected by Petrus Panditta Sekarra, another Buddhist priest who had renounced the faith of his ancestors. When Mr. Tolfrey died, the work had proceeded to the Epistle to Philemon. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1816, App. p. 229; Ibid. 1818, App. p. 19. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 309. Miss. Notices, vol. i. p. 135.

#### PERSIC.

The Hebrew Pentateuch, with a Persic Translation in the Hebrew character, in alternate verses, in two volumes folio, MS. *Bibl. Colbertina cod.* 2468, 2469. Le Long, tom. i. p. 58.

The Pentateuch in Arabic and Persic, MS.

This was transcribed from an Ispahan copy, which was itself a transcript of a very ancient translation made from the Hebrew at Bagdad, A. D. 827. Circular Letters, vol. x. p. 203. For a further account of this MS. see ARABIC.

The Pentateuch in Persic, in the Persian character, with vowel points, taken from the Constantinople edition, MS.

The same Version of the Pentateuch, in Hebrew characters, MS. *Bibl. Bodleiana cod.* 8639.

The books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Ezra, and Nehemiah, in Persic, in the Hebrew character, MS. *Bibl. Colbertina cod.* 4602.

The four books of Kings, in Persic, in the Hebrew character, MS. *Ibid. Cod.* 4601.

The book of Job, in Persic, in the Hebrew character, MS. *Ibid. cod.* 4606, 4607, 4608.

The books of Solomon, Esther, and Ruth, in Persic, MS. *Ibid. cod.* 4605.

The books of Isaiah and Jeremiah, in Persic, MS. *Ibid. cod.* 4609, 4610.

The book of Daniel, in Persic, MS. *Ibid. cod.* 4603, 4604.

The twelve minor Prophets, in Persic, MS. *Ibid. cod.* 4610.

The Psalms, in Persic, MS. *Bibl. Bodleiana cod.* 437, 3928.

The Psalms in Persic, MS. *Bibl. Vindob. cod.* 49, de Nissel.



- The Psalms in Persic, from the Latin MS. *Oxonii in Bibl. Collegii S. Joannis cod. 15, 16. Num. 1753, 1754.*
- The Psalms in Persic, from the Vulgate, MS. *Bibl. Bodleiana cod. 3776.*
- The Psalms in Persic, from the Latin, by some Jesuits, MS. *Bibl. Bodleiana cod. 3044.*
- The Psalms in Persic, with various readings from two other copies, by John Baptist Vecchietti, a Florentine, in the year 1601, MS.
- The books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Baruch, in Persic, MS.
- The Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs, in Persic, MS.
- The Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs, in Persic, written in the Hebrew character, MS.
- The book of Esther, in Persic, written in the Hebrew character, MS.
- The Four Gospels, in Persic, MS. beautifully written.
- The last six manuscripts were formerly in the library of the learned Renaudot.
- The New Testament, in Persic, MS. *Bibl. Lambethana.*
- The Gospel according to Matthew in Persic, MS. *Biblioth. Medicæa Palatina cod. 17. D'Herbelot.*
- The Gospel of Christ in Persic, MS. *Bibliotheca Vindobonensis cod. 49, de Nissel.*
- The Gospels, in Persic, MS.
- The Four Gospels in Persic, from the Syriac, by Simon, a Persian Christian, according to Dr. Hyde, MS. *Bibl. Bodleiana cod. 5453. A.*
- The Four Gospels in Persic, with a Latin Exposition, MS.
- The Four Gospels in Persic, MS. *Cantabrigiæ Bibl. Collegii Emanuelis cod. 64. B.*
- The Four Gospels in Persic, MS. *Bibl. Bodleiana cod. 395.*
- The Four Gospels in Persic, MS. *Bibl. Leidensis cod. Warneriana, 291, 675, 701, p. 410. Catalogi in folio.*
- The Four Gospels in Persic, MS. Le Long, tom. i. p. 132.
- The Four Gospels in Persic, MS. in the possession of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1817, App. p. 328.
- The Four Gospels in Persic, translated by order of Nadir Shah. MS.



It is a curious fact, that in the year 1740, Nadir Shah, the usurper of the throne of Persia, who is so distinguished for his cruelties, ordered a translation of the Four Gospels to be made into the Persic language ; but the work was completely bungled through the negligence and unfaithfulness of those who were employed in it. They were only six months in completing the translation, and transcribing several fair copies of it ; and they dressed it up with all the foolish glosses which the fables of the Koran could warrant. Their chief guide was an ancient Arabic and Persian version. Hanway's Travels, vol. ii. p. 404. Of this singular fact, Fra. Leandro de Santa Cecilia, a Carmelite friar, who at that time resided in Persia under the combined character of a physician and monk, gives us some further particulars ; some of which, however, there can be little doubt, are unfounded. Nadir Shah, he informs us, " gave orders for four translations : one of the Gospels, by European Christians ; of the Epistles, by Armenians ; of the Old Testament, by Jews ; and of the Koran, by Persian Mollahs. He was conjectured as having it in contemplation to make a selection from each, and set himself forth as the founder of a new religion. Such was the zeal of the persons employed, each imagining that the Shah would embrace his own faith, that in eight months all the tasks were completed. They came, therefore, at the same time, to present them, and were admitted together into the royal garden. They found here a number of persons in waiting ; who being successively introduced, each came out with a rope round his neck, was immediately strangled, and carried away to be thrown to wild beasts. In the course of an hour, eighteen were thus disposed of. It is easy to conceive the horror and dismay of the hapless translators. It is boasted, however, that their minds soon regained their serenity ; and that anticipating an immediate crown of martyrdom, they disputed with each other on whom it should first be conferred. At length they were all admitted ; but the glory so eagerly contended for, was not destined for them. The king received them well ; asked if they were comfortably lodged, and made them a present of 200 tomans. The books he received without ever looking at them, being probably diverted by other plans and occupations from the original object." Murray's Historical Account of Discoveries in Asia, vol. iii. p. 70.

The Acts of the Apostles in Persic, by a Roman Catholic missionary who lived in the reign of Akber, MS.

A copy of this MS. was presented by an Armenian to Mr. Thompson, one of the Baptist missionaries in India. Circular Letters, vol. x. p. 203.

The Pentateuch in Persic, in the Hebrew character, translated by Rabbi Jacob, and published for the use



of the Jews residing in Persia. Constantinople, 1546.

This was printed in a Polyglott edition of the Pentateuch, which was published at Constantinople in 1546; and which, besides the Persic version, contained the five books of Moses, in Hebrew and Arabic, with the Chaldee Paraphrase of Onkelos. Le Long, edit. Masc. tom. i. part i. p. 30; part ii. p. 159.

The Pentateuch and the Four Gospels in Persic, in the London Polyglott. London, 1657.

The Pentateuch, as printed in the London Polyglott, is a copy of Rabbi Jacob's version, but it is printed in Persic, not in Hebrew characters. The Four Gospels are taken from the MS. of Simon in the Bodleian Library, which we have marked above, A. This version, according to Walton, is the most ancient and the best we possess; Dr. Adam Clarke also speaks highly of it; but by others it is said to be very incorrect, and of little use. Le Long, tom. i. p. 132, 133, 134. Encyclopædia Britannica, Art. BIBLE.

The Four Gospels in Persic, folio. London, 1657.

This edition, according to some, was printed from the Cambridge MS. which we have marked above, B. and which is a translation, not from the Greek, but the Syriac; according to others, it was formed from a collation of three different MSS. The style is said to be rude and unpolished; it is often not only ambiguous, but sometimes absolutely unintelligible to a modern Persian. The publication of it was begun by Abraham Wheelock, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, but he did not live to finish it. It was completed, however, by Mr. Pierson. Le Long, tom. i. p. 134. Bib. Dict. vol. vi. p. 226. Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. i. p. 147.

The Gospel of Matthew to the twenty-second chapter, translated into Persic, by Robert Gunnesam Doss.

The author of this translation was born in Bengal, and was brought up in all the darkness of paganism; but having come to England, he acquired during his residence in that country some knowledge of the Christian religion. In 1774, he returned to Calcutta, and was employed in the chief court of justice as Persic interpreter and translator. Having now embraced the Christian faith, he began to translate the Gospel of Matthew into the Persic language; but whether he proceeded any further than the twenty-second chapter we do not know. Neure Geschichte der Missions in Ostindien, tom. ii. p. 461, 466.

Twenty chapters of the Gospel of Matthew, by William Chambers, Esq. of Calcutta.

That part of this translation which contains our Lord's Sermon on the Mount, was printed. Proceed. Church Miss. Soc. vol. i. p. 147. Bib. Dict. vol. vi. p. 227.



The Gospels in Persic, by Lieutenant Colonel Colebrooke, Surveyor General of Bengal. Calcutta, 1804. Marsh's History, p. 39, 77.

A great part of the New Testament, the book of Psalms and some other portions of the Old, in Persic, translated by the Baptist missionaries, Serampore.

This work the missionaries relinquished, on the Rev. Henry Martyn engaging to superintend a translation into Persic. Only a small part of it was printed. Memoir relative to the Translations, 1808, p. 13. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1807, App. p. 37.

Part of the New Testament in Persic, translated by Nathaniel Sabat, under the superintendence of the Rev. Henry Martyn.

In December 1809, Sabat had advanced to the end of the First Epistle to the Corinthians: whether he afterwards proceeded further, we are uncertain. On the completion of the four Gospels, they were sent to Calcutta, and two of them were printed; but on further examination, the version was considered as requiring so many amendments, that it was returned to the translator, who, under the superintendence of Mr. Martyn, bestowed so much pains upon it, as to render it a new, and it was hoped, an accurate translation. By those, however, who were considered as competent judges, it was deemed unfit for general circulation, as it abounded with Arabic idioms, and was written in a style, which, though pleasing to the learned, was not level to common readers. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1811, App. p. 24. Memoir of the Rev. H. Martyn, p. 313, 333.

The New Testament in Persic, by Mirza Seid Ali Khan, and the Rev. Henry Martyn. St. Petersburg, 1815. Memoir of the Rev. H. Martyn, p. 364, 411, 464.

The edition published at Petersburg is extremely incorrect, another edition was printed at Serampore; but neither is it very accurate.

The book of Psalms in Persic, by Mirza Seid Ali Khan, and the Rev. H. Martyn. Calcutta, 1816. Memoir of the Rev. H. Martyn, p. 433. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1822, App. p. 131.

The New Testament in Persic, by the Rev. Leopoldo Sebastiani, a Roman Catholic priest.

This version was intended for the use of the Christians dispersed through Persia. Sebastiani was many years resident at the court of Persia, and made his translation immediately from the Greek. The four Gospels at least were printed. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1812, p. 13. App. p. 71; Ibid. 1815, App. p. 38. Bapt. Mag. vol. v. p. 67.

The New Testament in Persic, by Giovanni Guriel,



Catholic Chaldean Archbishop of Salmast. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1817, App. p. 25.

The New Testament in Persic, MS.

This MS. belongs to the Gymnasium in Astrachan. It is beautifully written in a neat hand, on a very fine polished paper, and elegantly bound. On the first page of the book, there is an advertisement written by the Rector of the Gymnasium, stating that the person who made the translation, and the time when it was executed, are unknown. Quart. Chron. vol. ii. p. 141.

The Psalms in Persic, translated by Mir Abu Taleb and the Rev. William Glen, Astrachan. Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1823, p. 19.

The Old Testament, translating into Persic, at St. Petersburg, by a native of Teflis.

This version is made from the Vulgate, and afterwards undergoes the revision of the Rev. Professor Lee, of Cambridge. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1823, p. 51.

#### PORTUGUESE.

The Pentateuch in Portuguese, edited by the Jews of Amsterdam. Le Long, tom. i. p. 368.

The New Testament in Portuguese, translated at Batavia by some Dutch ministers.

As the first edition of this translation was very incorrect, it was sent to Amsterdam, where, after being revised, it was again printed in 1681. Propagation of the Gospel in the East, Part II. p. 14.

The New Testament in Portuguese, by John Ferreira of Almeida, Preacher of the Holy Gospel. Amsterdam, 1712.

The author of this work was a native of Portugal, who, though educated a Roman Catholic, embraced the Reformed Religion. Niecampii Hist. p. 155. Kennet's Bibliothecæ Americanæ Primordia, p. 272.

The Old Testament in Portuguese, begun by John Ferreira of Almeida, and completed by James op Den Akker, one of the Dutch ministers of Batavia. Niecampii Hist. p. 273, 275, 360.

The Old Testament in Portuguese, published by the Danish missionaries, Tranquebar. Ibid. p. 172.

The Danish missionaries obtained in India MS. translations of the whole of the Old Testament, with the exception of Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and the Song of Solomon. The author of these translations had followed the Spanish version almost word for word, and in many instances even its phraseology. The missionaries also obtained a MS. copy of Ferreira's version from Batavia. These different translations they revised and



compared with the Hebrew originals, before they committed any of them to the press. Some books they appear to have supplied themselves. Propagation of the Gospel, Part III. p. 65, 69, 117. Niecampii Hist. p. 172, 207, 211, 230, 326, 360, 397, 438.

The New Testament in Portuguese, by Antonio Pereira. Lisbon, 1781.

The Bible in Portuguese, by Antonio Pereira. Lisbon, 1783.

Though it is rather foreign to the object we have in view, yet it is worthy of notice, that this was the first Portuguese translation of the whole Bible published in Portugal. Thomson and Orme's Sketch of the Translation of the Scriptures, p. 45, 47. It is accompanied with a Commentary, and the edition of 1802 consisted of no fewer than 23 volumes, so that it can scarcely be accessible to the common people. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1807, p. 40.

The New Testament in the Portuguese language as spoken in Ceylon, translating by Hendrik Siers, Assistant Baptist Missionary, Ceylon. Bapt. Mag. vol. x. p. 273.

The New Testament in the Portuguese language as spoken in Ceylon, by Robert Newstead, one of the Methodist missionaries, Ceylon. Miss. Not. vol. ii. p. 241.

The book of Psalms, in the Portuguese language as spoken in Ceylon, by Robert Newstead. Rep. Meth. Miss. Soc. 1821, p. 30.

The Portuguese of Ceylon is very different from the Portuguese of Europe. Meth. Mag. vol. xl. p. 437.

#### SARAMECA.

Harmony of the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Apostolical Epistles, in the language of the Free Negroes on the river Sarameca, Surinam, by Rudolph Stoll, and John Lewis Wietz, Moravian missionaries at Bambey. Risler Erzählungen, tom. iv. p. 196, 202. Fortsetzung, Brud. Hist. tom. iii. p. 79.

#### SHREENAGORE.

The New Testament translating into Shreenagore, by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Period. Accounts of Serampore mission, p. 39.



## SIAMESE.

The Gospel of Matthew translated into Siamese, by Ann H. Judson, assisted by her Burman teacher. Judson's Account, p. 158.

## SIKH, OR PUNJABEE.

The New Testament in the Sikh language, translated by learned natives under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Serampore, 1814. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 627.

The Old Testament in the Sikh language, translating by learned natives under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 38.

## SINDHEE, OR DUKSLINU.

The New Testament in Sindhee, translating by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 38.

This language is spoken in the country of Sindh, which lies on the east bank of the Indus, about 500 miles from the sea. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 400.

## SUNGSKRIT.

The New Testament in the Sungskrit language, by William Carey, D. D. assisted by learned natives. Serampore, 1809. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 58.

The Old Testament in the Sungskrit language, by William Carey, D. D. assisted by learned natives. Serampore, 1818. Ibid. vol. vi. p. 321.

## SUSOO.

The Holy Scriptures translating into Susoo, by the Rev. John G. Wilhelm and Jonathan S. Klein, missionaries on the coast of Africa. Miss. Reg. vol. v. p. 389; vol. vi. p. 234; vol. vii. p. 5.

The New Testament is translated as far as the Second Epistle to Timothy. Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1821, p. 73.

## TAMUL.

The Gospel of Matthew, translated from the Portuguese into Tamul, by Francis de Fonseca. Baldæus' Description of Malabar, in Churchill's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 719.

The New Testament in Tamul, by Bartholomew Zie-



genbalg. Tranquebar, 1715, quarto. Niecampii Hist. p. 183.

The Old Testament in Tamul, by Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, and Benjamin Schultze. Tranquebar, 1727. quarto.

This work was originally printed in three parts ; the first of which, containing the five books of Moses, Joshua and Judges, was published in 1720 ; the second, containing from Ruth to the prophetical books, in 1726 ; the third, containing the prophetical books, in 1727 ; and in the following year these were succeeded by the Apocryphal books. Ibid. p. 224, 272, 287, 311.

The New Testament in Tamul. Columbo, 1743, quarto.

This translation was printed in Ceylon, under the auspices of the Dutch governor. It was into the Tamul language as spoken in Jaffnapatnam, which is considerably different from that spoken on the coast of Coromandel. Le Long, edit. Maschii, tom. i. Part ii. p. 201. Neure Geschichte der Missions in Ostindien, tom. iii. p. 745.

The New Testament in Tamul, by John Philip Fabricius, one of the Danish missionaries in India. Madras, 1777.

Fabricius, the author of this work, is described as an unparalleled Tamul scholar ; and his translation is represented as much more classical and elegant than that of Ziegenbalg, though it also is faithful enough. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1805, p. 56. Ibid. 1811, App. p. 19.

The Old Testament in Tamul, by Philip de Melho.

This translation was undertaken by desire of M. Falk, the governor of Ceylon. It was completed in the year 1782. Neure Geschichte der Missions in Ostindien, tom. iii. p. 745 ; but we apprehend it never was printed.

#### TELINGA.

The Old and New Testament, with the Apocrypha, in Telinga, by Benjamin Schultze. Niecampii Hist. p. 296, 365.

This work was never printed. It is probable the manuscript was carried by the author to Halle in Saxony, and deposited in the Orphan House library.

Several books of the New Testament in the Telinga language, by Captain James Dodds.

Capt. Dodds, a nephew of the late Dr. Caverhill, a physician in London, began a translation of the New Testament into the Telinga language ; but he died in September 1795, before completing the work. Miss. Mag. vol. i. p. 284.

The Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistle to the Romans, translated from Tamul into



Telinga, by Anundarayer, a Christian Brahmin, Vizagapatam. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1811, App. p. 17.

The book of Proverbs in Telinga, by Anundarayer, Vizagapatam. Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 208.

Whether Anundarayer proceeded further in this translation we do not know. His work was never printed, but was of material service to Mr. Des Granges in making the following version.

The Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, in Telinga, by Augustus Des Granges, missionary, Vizagapatam, assisted by Anundarayer. Serampore, 1812.

Besides translating these three Gospels, Mr. Des Granges completed, previous to his death, a first copy, of the Gospel of John, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle to the Romans, and the first Epistle to the Corinthians. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1811, p. 114, 116. Ibid. 1812, p. 13.

The New Testament in Telinga, by John Gordon, missionary, Vizagapatam. MS. Rep. Miss. Soc. 1822, p. 66.

The New Testament in Telinga, by Edward Pritchett, missionary, Vizagapatam. Madras, 1819. Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 70, 97, 298, 336, 406; Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 416.

The Old Testament in Telinga, translated (in part) by Edward Pritchett, Vizagapatam.

Mr. Pritchett died while engaged in this work; but previous to his death he had proceeded more than half way in his version. Rep. Miss. Soc. 1821, p. 50.

The book of Genesis in Telinga, by William Lee, missionary, Ganjam. Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 239.

The New Testament in Telinga, translated by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D. Serampore, 1818. Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 38.

The Old Testament in Telinga, translating by learned natives, under the superintendence of William Carey, D. D.

The Pentateuch is printed; but the Baptist missionaries have relinquished their intention of printing the three other volumes which are necessary to complete the Old Testament, in consequence of the establishment of a Bible Society at Madras. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 621. Seventh Memoir respecting the Translation of the Scriptures, p. 6. Period. Accounts of Serampore Mission, p. 38.

#### TSCHAPOGIRIAN.

The Gospels translating into Tschapogirian, one of the



languages of Siberia. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1819, App. p. 98.

#### TSCHERMISHIAN.

The New Testament translating into the Tschermishian language. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1820, App. p. 43.

#### TSCHUWASHIAN.

The New Testament translated into the Tschuwashian language. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1819, App. p. 93, 98; Ibid. 1820, App. p. 43.

#### TUNGUSIAN.

The Gospels translating into Tungusian, one of the languages of Siberia. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1819, App. p. 98.

#### TURKISH AND TARTAR.

The Old Testament in Turkish, written in the Hebrew character for the use of the Jews.

The Bible in the Turkish language, by John Ungnadius.

The Bible in the Turkish language, MS. *Fuit olim Bibl. Monachiensis. Bibl. Vinariensis.*

The Pentateuch, the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, translated from the Hebrew into Turkish, MS. *Bibl. Leidensis Codex*, p. 386. *Warneriana*, p. 409. *Catalogi in folio.*

The Psalms in the Turkish language, written in the Greek character.

A copy of this work was presented by a Greek Archemandrite, to Dr. Pinkerton. It is said that the sultan Soliman IV. being highly incensed against the Greeks, prohibited the use of the Greek language on pain of death, and ordered them all to speak Turkish. On this account, the Scriptures, and other church books, were translated into Turkish, but written in the Greek character. *Relig. Mon.* vol. xiv. p. 307.

The Psalms in the Turkish language and the Greek character. Printed at Venice.

The Psalms in the Turkish language and the Greek character, by Seraphim, late Metropolitan of Karmania. Venice, 1782.

The Gospels of Matthew and John in Turkish, written at Ispahan in Roman characters, by M. De Lauziere, MS. *In Bibl. Upsaliensi.* Le Long, tom. i. p. 135.

The Gospels in the Turkish language.

This version is into the peculiar and corrupt dialect of the



Pashalik of Bagdad. It is said to be very carelessly executed. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1817, App. p. 23.

The Gospels in the Turkish language.

This is an old translation, and is better executed than the last. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1817, App. p. 23.

The Gospels in the Turkish language, MS.

Mr. Rich, the East India Company's Resident at Bagdad, mentions, that in the church of the Catholic Chaldean patriarch of Diarbeker, he heard a lesson read from the Gospels in Turkish, translated by a native of Kerkouk, which to the best of his knowledge existed only in this MS. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1816, App. p. 136.

The Gospels read in the Church during Passion Week, in the Turkish language and the Greek character, MS.

The Acts of the Apostles, and all the Epistles, in the Turkish language and the Greek character. Venice, 1810. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1817, App. p. 76.

The Psalms in the Turkish language, and the Armenian character. Printed at Constantinople. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1817, App. p. 98.

The New Testament in Turkish, by William Seaman, quarto. Oxford, 1666.

This work was published, chiefly at the expense of the English Turkey Company. It was sent into the East, and proved a most acceptable present to the Christians in that part of the world. Fabricii Lux Evangelii, p. 596. We understand it is an excellent translation.

The New Testament in Turkish, by Hali Bey. Paris, 1819.

The Old Testament in Turkish, by Hali Bey.

Hali Bey, first interpreter at the court of the Grand Seignior, was born of Christian parents, in Poland, in the 17th century; but having been stolen by the Tartars when he was young, he was sold by them to the Turks, who educated him in their religion. He understood seventeen languages, and spoke English, French, and German, like a native. Besides writing various other works, he translated, by desire of Levinus Warner, the Dutch ambassador at the court of Constantinople, the whole Bible into the Turkish language. He proposed returning into the bosom of the Christian church, but died before he accomplished his design. His translation of the Bible, corrected and ready for the press, was sent by Warner to Leyden, in order to be printed; but this was not done. It remained about a century and a half neglected and forgotten in the library of that university, among its valuable collection of Oriental manuscripts.

In January 1814, when Dr. Pinkerton was on a visit to Edinburgh, the author of this work furnished him with a list of translations of the Sacred Writings into the Turkish language, including this of Hali Bey. On returning to the continent, Dr.



Pinkerton made inquiry after it in Leyden, and was happily successful in procuring the use of it for the British and Foreign Bible Society. His Excellency Baron Von Diez, Counsellor of Legation to his Prussian Majesty, and formerly ambassador at the court of Constantinople, undertook to revise the translation, and to superintend the publication of it at Berlin. The MS. he found not without its defects ; but yet on the whole he considered it as a most valuable translation : “ I do not say too much,” says he, “ when I assert that it will rank among the very best versions of the Sacred Volume, and in many passages even excel them. I really begin to think that Hali Bey enjoyed peculiar assistance from God in this work. His style is truly classical, and will gain the hearts of men among all Turkish or Tartar tribes whom it may reach, for they are extremely partial to any thing that exhibits the language in its perfection. Indeed should the Turkish language ever be lost, it might be restored from this work in all its copiousness and ease.”

Baron Von Diez having died while carrying the Pentateuch through the press, the work was committed to Professor Kieffer of Paris, who proceeded with the publication of the New Testament. In editing it, he appears to have taken very great pains. Besides transcribing the text with his own hand, he collated it with the original Greek, the English, French and German versions ; the Turkish translation of Seaman, and the Tartar of Brunton ; the Arabic, by the Propaganda, Erpenius, Sabat, and the London quarto ; the Persian in the London Polyglott, and that by Martyn ; availing himself at the same time of the critical labours of Griesbach, Rosenmuller, and Parkhurst. *Le Long*, tom. i. p. 136. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Art. HALI BEIGH. *Rep. Bib. Soc.* 1815, p. 28. App. p. 4. 96 ; *Ibid.* 1817, p. 94. App. p. 169 ; *Ibid.* 1819, App. p. 5. *Monthly Correspondence of the Bible Society*, Sept. 1817, p. 6.

On the publication, however, of the New Testament, it was considered by other Turkish scholars as chargeable with floridness of style, and some considerable errors, but several of these were probably mere oversights. They allowed that the style was classical, and often very elegant, and that were the work judiciously revised, it would form an excellent version for the learned part of the Turkish nation. MS. Account in the Author's possession. The present edition of the New Testament, and of that part of the Pentateuch which was previously printed, being deemed unfit for circulation, Professor Kieffer proceeded to carry a new edition through the press.

The New Testament translating into the Turkish language, and the Armenian character, by Seraphim Petrowitch Epicof, an Armenian Archimandrite, assisted by another Armenian. *Rep. Bib. Soc.* 1817, App. p. 121, 123.

The Old Testament in the Tartar language, written in the Hebrew character, MS.

In June 1816, Dr. Pinkerton discovered this version among



the Caraites resident near Baktchiserai, the ancient capital of the Crimea. It was made, they said, by their forefathers several centuries before, and was constantly read by them to the present day, along with the Hebrew text. It is into the pure Jagatai Tartar. The copy which Dr. Pinkerton procured was a most beautiful work: it was written on fine vellum paper, in four volumes quarto, was elegantly bound in red goats' leather, and ornamented with gold. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1817, App. p. 75. The book of Genesis was afterwards printed by the Scottish missionaries at Astrachan; (Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1820, p. 48.) but we understand it is a mere verbal translation, similar to that of Arias Montanus.

The New Testament in the Tartar language, by John a Monte Corvino.

The book of Psalms in the Tartar language, by John a Monte Corvino.

John a Monte Corvino, an Italian friar, was sent by Pope Nicholas IV. on an embassy to Coblai, the emperor of the whole Tartar nation. He and the ecclesiastics who accompanied him converted many of the Tartars to Christianity, persuaded considerable numbers of the Nestorians to adopt the doctrine and discipline of the church of Rome, and erected churches in different parts of Tartary and China. This translation was made so early as the close of the thirteenth, or the beginning of the fourteenth century. Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. iii. p. 2, 138.

The book of Psalms in Tartar and Persian, by a Georgian prince.

This translation was intended for the Persian provinces bordering on Georgia. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1819, App. p. 89.

The New Testament in the Tartar Turkish language, by Henry Brunton, missionary, Karass. Karass, 1813.

This translation is into a kind of medium between the Tartar and the Turkish. It is into the Nogay dialect, which is nearly the same with the Kazan, Trukmen, and Bucharian. Seaman's Turkish New Testament is the ground work of it: the language indeed is in many places the same. It appears to be well understood by the Tartars even in distant places. Religious Monitor, vol. xiii. p. 308; vol. xv. p. 146.

The Old Testament in the Tartar Turkish language, by John Dickson, missionary, Astrachan. Rep. Edin. Miss. Soc. 1817, p. 16.

This we understand is not properly a new translation, but merely a revision of Hali Bey's Turkish version, the Arabic and Persic words being thrown out, and plain Turkish words substituted in their place. Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1820, p. 49.

The New Testament in the Tartar language, by Charles Fraser, missionary, Orenberg. Astrachan, 1820.

This is nothing more than Mr. Brunton's translation revised by Mr. Fraser, and accommodated to the orthography and idiom of the Kirghisian Tartars. The language of the Kirghisians is radically the same as the Nogay Tartar; but there



is a considerable diversity in the dialect, particularly in the terminations. Rep. Edin. Miss. Soc. 1816, p. 13; Ibid. 1817, p. 60. Scottish Miss. Reg. vol. i.

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No. II.

HINTS RELATIVE TO THE FORMATION OF AN ALPHABET FOR  
LANGUAGES HITHERTO UNWRITTEN.

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MISSIONARIES to rude and uncivilized tribes, whose language was never before written, have not only to acquire their barbarous dialect, but to settle its orthography, and to reduce it to writing. This is an arduous and most important task. By the formation of a proper alphabet, and its judicious application in the spelling of words, the acquisition of the language will be prodigiously facilitated, not only to future missionaries, but to adults among the natives who may be disposed to learn to read, and to their children in all succeeding generations. On the contrary, by ignorance or negligence in this respect, missionaries may not only increase the task of acquiring the language to their fellow-labourers, but invest it with such difficulties, that few adults shall have the courage and the perseverance to learn to read, while their children to the end of time shall feel that a burden, which by a wise arrangement might have proved a pleasure. Of this we have a striking example in the English language. In consequence of the imperfection of our alphabet, the deficiency of some letters, and the superfluity of others, the indistinctness of some, and the similarity of others; and, above all, the absurd application of them in the spelling of words, the difficulty of acquiring it is prodigiously increased; and notwithstanding the many advantages which we possess in respect of education, it is in fact, but imperfectly acquired by the great mass of the population, as is evident from the vast variety of pronunciation which exists in the different districts of the country, and that not among the populace only, but even among persons of good education. I can scarcely conceive a more easy task than to learn to pronounce a language possessed of an alphabet constructed on philosophical principles, and accurately applied to the orthography of the words: I scarcely know, on the other hand, a more perplexing task, than to acquire a language, the spelling of which, instead of being a guide to the pronunciation, seems only intended to mislead a speaker. A few hours may enable a person of ordinary capacity to *read* any of the languages of Europe, constructed according to the one plan; years are scarcely sufficient to enable a foreigner to *pronounce* English or French with perfect accuracy, constructed as they are according to the other.

It is therefore with much regret we have observed, that the most of missionaries, in reducing to writing, languages hitherto unwritten, have simply adopted the English alphabet, without



any alteration or improvement, except, perhaps, introducing a few points, to mark some peculiarity in the sound of particular letters. Considering the many and great disadvantages which must result from the introduction of an imperfect alphabet, and an inaccurate orthography, into newly written languages, we trust we shall be excused in making a few observations on this important subject.

To constitute a perfect alphabet, there should be neither a deficiency nor a superfluity of letters: in other words, there should be a character for every simple sound; but there must not be more than one character to express the same sound.

With respect to the form of letters, it may be observed: 1. They should be *distinct* one from another, so as to avoid the hazard of being confounded together. 2. They should be *simple*, so as to be formed with ease and expedition. 3. They should be *regular*, so as readily to coalesce together in words and lines. 4. They should be *neat*, and if possible *elegant*, so as to appear agreeable to the eye.

But as languages are intended not merely to be printed but written, the characters of the alphabet should possess these qualities when written, as well as when printed: And to prevent the unnecessary multiplication of letters, they should if possible retain the same form in both cases, excepting so far as is necessary to connect them together in writing. This, in fact, is the grand difficulty in the formation of alphabetical characters. To construct letters which as *printed* shall be distinct, simple, regular, and elegant, is an easy task; but many of these must be rejected, as they cannot be formed with expedition, nor be easily connected together in writing. Most of the capitals in the English alphabet are fine specimens of such characters, yet they are completely liable to this objection.

With the view of further simplifying the alphabet, the capital letters should be rejected, as not more necessary in alphabetical than in arithmetical symbols, which require no device of this sort either to please the eye, or to assist the judgment, even in the longest and most complicated operations by figures. Punctuation properly regulated is the best substitute for capitals:\* but if any cannot think of dispensing with them entirely, it is surely unnecessary to have a distinct character for them. They may all be formed simply by enlarging the ordinary letters, as is already done with C, O, S, V, W, X.

Against many of these principles, the English alphabet frequently and most grievously offends. Examples of this it may not be improper to give, in order to illustrate the grounds on which the following alphabet is constructed:

1. *Deficiency* of letters. In the English alphabet there are only twenty-six characters, but all writers on the subject agree that there is a much greater number of elementary sounds. Some of the letters must consequently have more than one sound: e in fact has two sounds; a, i, and u, have three each.

\* Asiatic Journal, vol. ii. p. 115.



2. *Superfluity* of letters. In the English alphabet there is not only a deficiency, but a superfluity of letters. The letter c is totally unnecessary, as its hard sound is expressed by k, and its soft by s : q has simply the sound of k ; and x is nothing else than a compound of ks, and in some instances of gz.

3. *Confusion* of letters. Some characters not only possess more than one sound ; but the same sound is expressed by different characters or diphthongs. Thus we have there, bear, hare, hair, gaol ; be, bee, read, ceiling, people, machine, panegyric.

4. *Indistinctness* of letters. The four characters, b, d, p, q, have so considerable a resemblance to each other, that a child can scarcely fail at first to confound them together. I have therefore rejected two of these letters b and p, in the following alphabet, and also because the written form is different from the printed. I have also omitted r, as not a very distinct character. I have employed the capital Y as more distinct than the single y ; and I have used the capital U, as the single u is apt to be confounded with n, especially in writing.

In arranging the letters, I have placed those together which have the greatest resemblance to each other, as a child will sooner learn to distinguish them when they stand side by side, than if they are at a distance from one another. This principle of arrangement has obliged me to change the sound of some of the letters of the English alphabet ; but though this may at first seem a little awkward, it is an inconvenience which will soon be got over. Thus in Greek, the letters H, P, X, have a very different power from the same characters in English ; but after a very little practice in reading Greek, we insensibly to ourselves forget their peculiar sound in English.

While I have rejected the dot from the letters i and j as useless in printing, and as occasioning an unnecessary elevation of the hand in writing, I have placed it above the short vowels ó and à, in order to distinguish the short from the long sound of these letters. Dr. Franklin proposed to distinguish them by the repetition of the character when it was long ; but this I think is an easier and simpler way of marking the distinction.

The following alphabet is adapted to the sounds of the English language merely by way of example. Some dialects may not possess so many elementary sounds : in such cases those letters which have the greatest resemblance, or which are least simple, may be discarded. Should any language require a still greater number of letters, the circle, the straight line, and combinations of the two together, will be found to furnish the most elegant and convenient characters. If, however, missionaries are careful in distinguishing the sounds which are purely elementary, it is probable the letters I have given will be more than sufficient for most of the dialects for which it may be necessary to construct an alphabet. Ledwick makes only 14 vowels, and 29 consonants, in all the languages with which he was acquainted.\* According to Volney, there are only 19 or 20 vowels, and 32

\* Philosophical Transactions, vol. xvi. p. 128, 130.



consonants, in all the languages of Europe, and even some of those which he enumerates are obviously not simple but compound sounds,\* so that in any single language we are not likely to require more than 30 or 35 characters.

Having made these observations, I shall now submit to the reader an alphabet constructed on these principles.

## VOWELS.

|   |                                      |                   |
|---|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| I | as <i>i</i>                          | in fin.           |
| I | <i>i</i>                             | fine.             |
| J | <i>i</i> or <i>y</i>                 | idea, reply.      |
| a | <i>a</i> long.                       | hall.             |
| â | <i>a</i> short.                      | hat.              |
| o | <i>a</i> slender.                    | hate.             |
| o | <i>o</i> long.                       | note.             |
| ô | <i>o</i> short.                      | not.              |
| c | <i>e</i>                             | bed.              |
| e | <i>e</i> or <i>ee</i> .              | be, beer.         |
| u | <i>u</i>                             | but.              |
| w | <i>u</i> , <i>oo</i> , or <i>o</i> . | full, fool, Rome. |
| u | <i>u</i>                             | tube.             |

## CONSONANTS.

|   |    |           |
|---|----|-----------|
| w | w  | want.     |
| v | v  | vast.     |
| l | l  | lamb.     |
| x | r  | ran.      |
| y | y  | yam.      |
| m | m  | man.      |
| n | n  | nap.      |
| h | h  | happy.    |
| p | p  | palate.   |
| q | b  | bad.      |
| d | d  | dark.     |
| t | t  | tap.      |
| f | f  | fat.      |
| k | k  | kalendar. |
| z | z  | zenith.   |
| s | s  | salt.     |
| g | g  | gall.     |
| 5 | j  | jar.      |
| G | th | than.     |

\* Volney L'Alfabet Europeen, applique aux Langues Asiatiques, p. xiii. tab. p. 33, 108.



Though we have proposed this alphabet chiefly for languages which have not hitherto been written, yet we cannot but suggest to missionaries among tribes whose dialect, though already written, is read to a very limited extent, whether, on account of the great importance of a good alphabet, they might not with propriety attempt to introduce a new set of letters. In history we find many examples of a change in the alphabetical characters, even of nations considerably advanced in civilization. The Hebrews anciently used the Samaritan character; but after the Babylonish captivity, they substituted in its place the Chaldean. In England and France, and several other countries of Europe, the Black letter has given place to the Roman character. In Germany, the same change is taking place in the present day. In Ireland, the Irish has in a considerable degree yielded to the Roman. Changes of the same kind appear to have been made in some of the Oriental languages, at least it is probably in this way we are to account for the extensive use of the Arabic and Deva Nagree characters. In most of the cases now mentioned, the greater distinctness and beauty of the new character, it is probable, facilitated materially the change. Were missionaries to prefix to every work they publish, a copy of the new alphabet, with the power of the characters expressed in the old letters, it is likely that such individuals as were able to make use of books, would soon acquire it so as to read it with more facility than they previously did their own indistinct, imperfect letters. In countries where the number of readers is small, and where the missionaries are engaged in carrying on the education of children on an extensive scale, a new alphabet, we apprehend, might be introduced without much difficulty. But even though it should be necessary for some time to print editions of the principal works in the old, as well as in the new character, the advantages of the latter in facilitating the general diffusion of education in all succeeding generations would more than counterbalance this temporary expense, and would ultimately prove an immense saving of money, of time, and of labour.





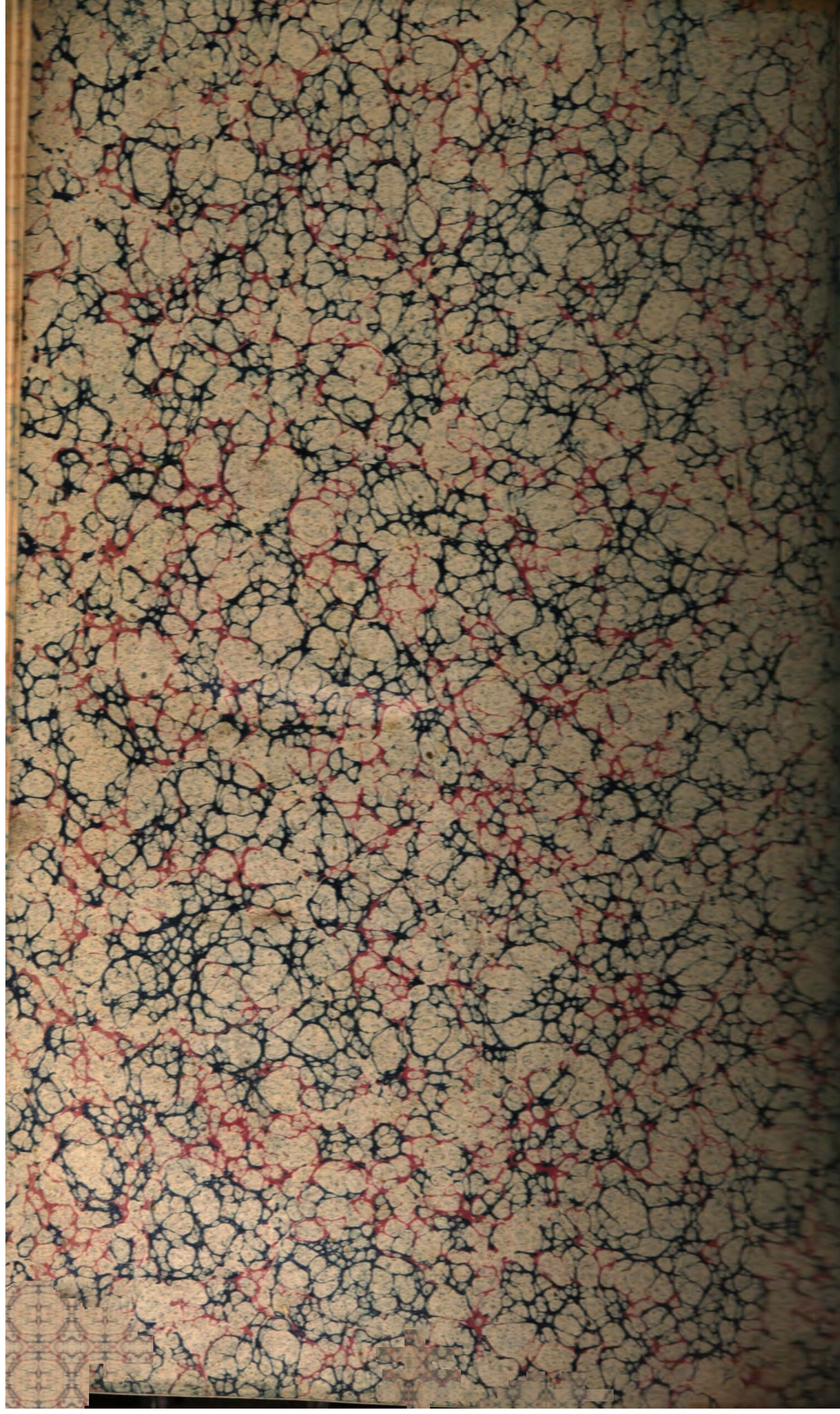




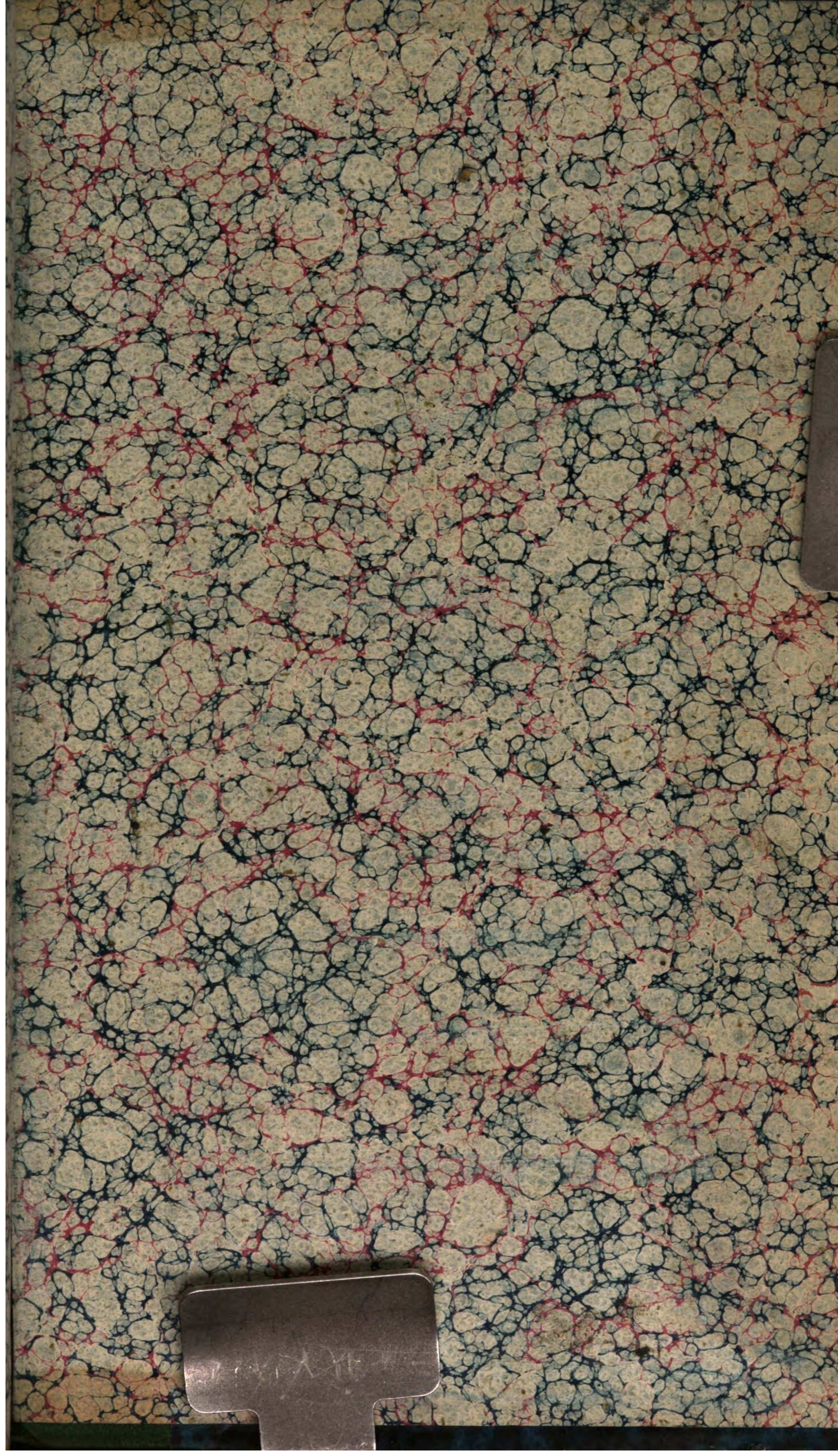


















Brown, William

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